DISSERTATION

ON THE

PROPHECIES,

WHICH HAVE

REMARKABLY BEEN FULFILLED,

AND AT THIS TIME

ARE FULFILLING IN THE WORLD.

By THOMAS NEWTON, D. D.
LATE LORD BISHOP OF BRISTOL.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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THE

CONTENTS

OF THE

THIRD VOLUME.

DISSERTATION. XXIV.

An ANALYSIS *of the* REVELATION.

IN TWO PARTS.

PART I.

p. 17—27.

Very uſeful to trace the riſe and progreſs of religions and governments, 17. None more wonderful than that of Rome, in its ſucceſs and prevalence, 17. This ſignified before-hand by the Spirit of prophecy, and particularly in the Revelation, 18. The objections made to this book by ſeveral learned men, 18. This book difficult to explain, 19. A memorable ſtory to this purpoſe, of Biſhop Lloyd of Worceſter, 19. This book not therefore to be deſpiſed or neglected, 20. The right method of interpreting it, 20. What helps and aſſiſtances are requiſite, 20. Hard fate of the beſt interpreters of this book, 20. Great encouragement, however, in the divine benediction, 21.

CHAP. I. Ver. 1, 2, 3: contain the title of the book, the ſcope and deſign of it, and the bleſſing on him that

readeth and on them that attend to it, 22. Ver. 4. 5, 6, 7, 8: the dedication to the seven churches of Asia, and a solemn preface to shew the great authority of the divine revealer, 22. Ver. 9—20: the place, the time, and manner of the first vision, 25. The place, Patmos, whither St John was banished in the reign of Nero more probably than in that of Domitian, 24. The arguments for this opinion, 24. The Revelation given on the Lord's day, 27. The manner and circumstances of the first vision, 27.

CHAP. II. III. contain the seven epistles to the seven churches of Asia, 28—39. Why these seven addressed particularly, 32. These epistles not prophetical, but peculiar to the church of that age, 32. The excellent form and structure of these epistles, 32. In what sense they may be said to be prophetical, 32. Present state of the seven churches, 33—38. Of Ephesus, 33. Of Smyrna, 34. Of Pergamus, 35. Of Thyatira, 36. Of Sardis, 37. Of Philadelphia, 37. Of Laodicea, 38. Use that we are to make of these judgments, 39.

CHAP. IV. the preparatory vision to things which must be hereafter, 40. The scenery drawn in allusion to the encampment of the children of Israel in the wilderness, and to the tabernacle or temple, 40.

CHAP. V. a continuation of the preparatory vision in order to shew the great importance of the prophecies here delivered, 42. Future events supposed to be written in a book, 43. This book sealed with seven seals, signifying so many periods of prophecy, 43. The Son of God alone qualified to open the seals, 43. Whereupon all creatures sing praises to God and to Christ, 44.

CHAP. VI. Ver. 1, 2: contain the first seal or period, memorable for conquest, 44. This period commences with Vespasian, includes the conquest of Judea, and continues during the reigns of the Flavian family and the short reign of Nerva, 44. Ver. 3, 4: the second seal or period noted for war and slaughter, 46. This period commences with Trajan, 46. Comprehends the horrid wars and slaughters of the Jews and Romans in the reigns of Trajan and Adrian, 46.

continues during the reigns of Trajan and his ſucceſſors by blood or adoption, 48. Ver. 5, 6: the third ſeal or period, characterized by the ſtrict execution of juſtice, and by the procuration of corn and oil and wine, 48. This period commences with Septimius Severus, 49. He and Alexander Severus juſt and ſevere emperors, and no leſs celebrated for procuring corn and oil, &c. 49. This period continues during the reigns of the Septimian family, 50. Ver. 7, 8: the fourth ſeal or period, diſtinguiſhed by a concurrence of evils, war, and famine, and peſtilence, and wild beaſts, 50. This period commences with Maximine, 51. The wars of this period, 51. The famines, 53. The peſtilence, 52. The wild beaſts, 53. This period from Maximine to Diocletian, 53. Ver. 9, 10, 11: the fifth ſeal or period, remarkable for a dreadful perſecution of the Chriſtians, 53. This the tenth and laſt general perſecution, begun by Diocletian, 55. From hence a memorable æra, called the æra of Diocletian, or æra of martys, 55. Ver. 12—17: the ſixth ſeal or period remarkable for great changes and revolutions, expreſſed by great commotions in the earth and in the heavens, 55. No change greater than the ſubverſion of the Heathen, and eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian religion, 56. The like figures of ſpeech uſed by other prophets, 56. The ſame thing expreſſed afterwards in plainer language, 58.

CHAP. VII. a continuation of the ſixth ſeal or period, 58. A deſcription of the peace of the church in Conſtantine's time, 60. And of the great acceſſion of converts to it, 60. Not only of Jews, but of all nations, 60. This period from the reign of Conſtantine the great to the death of Theodoſius the great, 62.

CHAP. VIII. Ver. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6: The ſeventh ſeal or period comprehends ſeven periods diſtinguiſhed by the ſounding of ſeven trumpets, 63. The ſilence of half an hour previous to the ſounding of the trumpets, 63. As the ſeals foretold the ſtate of the Roman empire before and till it became Chriſtian, ſo the trumpets foreſhew the fate of it afterwards, 64. The deſign of the trumpets to rouſe the nations againſt the Roman empire, 64. Ver. 7: At the ſounding of the firſt trum-

pet Alaric and his Goths invade the Roman empire twice, beſiege Rome, and ſet fire to it in ſeveral places, 64. Ver 8, 9: At the ſounding of the ſecond trumpet Attila and his Huns waſte the Roman provinces, and compel the eaſtern emperor Theodoſius the ſecond, and the weſtern emeperor, Valentinian the third, to ſubmit to ſhameful terms, 66. Ver. 10, 11: At the ſounding of the third trumpet Genſeric and his Vandals arrive from Africa, ſpoil and plunder Rome and ſet ſail again with immenſe wealth and innumerable captives, 67. Ver 12: At the ſounding of the fourth trumpet Odoacer and the Heruli put an end to the very name of the weſtern empire, 69. Theodoric founds the kingdom of the Oſtrogoths in Italy, 69. Italy made a province of the eaſtern empire, and Rome governed by a duke under the exarch of Ravenna, 70. Ver. 13: The three following trumpets are diſtinguiſhed by the name of the woe-trumpets, and the two following relate chiefly to the downfal of the eaſtern empire, as the foregoing did to the downfal of the weſtern empire, 70.

CHAP. IX. Ver. 1—12: a prophecy of the locuſts or the Arabians under their falſe prophet Mohammed, 71. At the ſounding of the fifth trumpet a ſtar fallen from heaven opens the bottomleſs pit, and the ſun and air are darkened, 71. Mohammed fitly compared to a blazing ſtar, and the Arabians to locuſts, 72. A remarkable coincidence, that at this time the ſun and air were really darkened, 72. The command not to hurt any green thing, or any tree now fulfilled, 72. Their commiſſion to hurt only the corrupt and idolatrous Chriſtians, how fulfilled, 73. To torment the Greek and Latin churches, but not to extirpate either, 73. Repulſed as often as they beſieged Conſtantinople, 74. Theſe locuſts deſcribed ſo as to ſhew that not real but figurative locuſts were intended, 74. Likened unto horſes, and the Arabians famous in all ages for their horſes and horſemanſhip, 84. Having on their heads as it were crowns like gold, 74. Their faces as the faces of men, and hair as the hair of women, 75. Their teeth as the teeth of lions, their breaſt-plates as it were breaſt-plates of iron, and the ſound

ſound of their wings as the ſound of chariots, 76. Like unto Scorpions 76. Their king called the deſtroyer, 77. Their hurting men five months, how to be underſtood, 77. Fulfilled in every poſſible conſtruction, 79. Concluſion of this woe, 79. Ver. 13—21: a prophecy of the Euphratean horſemen or Turks and Othmans, 80. At the ſounding of the ſixth trumpet the four angels or four ſultanies of the Turks and Othmans are loſed from the river Euphrates, 80. In what ſenſe they are ſaid to be prepared for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year, to ſlay the third part of men, 82. Their numerous armies, and eſpecially their cavalry, 84. Their delight in ſcarlet, blue, and yellow, 85. The uſe of great guns and gun-powder among them, 85. Their power to do hurt by their tails, or the poiſonous train of their religion, 86. The miſerable condition of the remains of the Greek church among them, 86. The Latin or weſtern church not at all reclaimed by the ruin of the Greek or weſtern church, but ſtill perſiſt in their idolatry and wickedneſs, 87.

CHAP. X. a preparatory viſion to the prophecies relating to the weſtern church, 88. The angel with the little book or codicil to the larger book of the Apocalyps, 89. This properly diſpoſed under the ſixth trumpet, to deſcribe the ſtate of the weſtern church after the deſcription of the ſtate of the eaſtern, 89. Cannot be known what things were meant by the ſeven thunders, 89. Though the little book deſcribes the calamities of the weſtern church, yet it is declared that they ſhall all have a happy period under the ſeventh trumpet, 89. St John to publiſh the contents of this little book as well as the larger book of the Apocalyps, 90.

CHAP. XI. ver. 1—14: the contents of the little book, 90. The meaſuring of the temple to ſhew that during all this period there were ſome true Chriſtians, who conformed to the rule and meaſure of God's word, 91. The church to be trodden under foot by Gentiles in worſhip and practice forty and two months, 92. Some true witneſſes however to proteſt againſt

the corruptions of religion, 92. Why ſaid to be two witneſſes, 92. To propheſy in ſackcloth, as long as the grand corruption itſelf laſted, 93. The character of theſe witneſſes, and of the power and effect of their preaching, 93. The paſſion, and death, and reſurrection, and aſcenſion of the witneſſes, 94. Some apply this prophecy of the death and reſurrection of the witneſſes to John Huſs and Jerome of Prague, whoſe doctrine revived after their death in their followers, 96. Others to the proteſtants of the league of Smalcald, who were entirely routed by the emperor Charles V. in the battle of Mulburg, but upon the change of affairs the emperor was obliged by the treaty of Paſſau to allow them the free exerciſe of their religion, 97. Some again to the maſſacre of the proteſtants in France, and to Henry III's afterwards granting them the free exerciſe of their religion, 97. others again to later events, Peter Jurieu to the perſecution of the proteſtants, by Lewis XIV. Biſhop Lloyd and Whiſton to the duke of Savoy's perſecution of the proteſtants in the vallies of Piedmont, and his re-eſtabliſhing them afterwards, 98. In all theſe caſes there may be ſome reſemblance, but none of theſe is the laſt perſecution, and therefore this propheey remains yet to be fulfilled, 99. When it ſhall be accompliſhed, the ſixth trumpet and the ſecond woe ſhall end, 100. An hiſtorical deduction to ſhew that there have been ſome true witneſſes, who have profeſſed doctrines contrary to thoſe of the church of Rome, from the ſeventh century down to the reformation, 100. Witneſſes in the eighth century, 100. The emperors Leo Iſauricus and Conſtantine Copronymus, and the council of Conſtantinople, 101. Charlemain and the council of Francfort, 101. The Britiſh churches and Alcuin, 102. The council of Forojulio, 102. Paulinus biſhop of Aquilea, 102. Witneſſes in the ninth century, 102. 105. The emperors of the eaſt, Nicephorus, Leo Armenius, &c. and the emperors of the weſt, Charles the great, and Lewis the pious, 102. The council of Paris' 102. Agobard archbiſhop of Lyons, 102. Tranſubſtantiation firſt advanced by Paſchaſius Radbertus, and oppoſed by many learned men,

men, 103. Rabanus Maurus, 103. Bertramus, 103. Johannes Scotus, 103. Angilbertus and the church of Milan, 104. Claude biſhop of Turin, 105. Witneſſes in the tenth century, 105—108. State of this century, 105. The council of Troſly, 106. Athelſtan, 106. Elfere earl of Mercia, 107. Heriger and Alfric, 107. The counſel of Rheims; and Gerbert archbiſhop of Rheims, 108. Witneſſes in the eleventh century, 108—111. State of this century, 108. William the conqueror, and William Rufus, 109. Heretics of Orleans, 109. Heretics in Flanders, 109. Berengarius and his followers, 110. Eccelſiaſtics in Germany, &c. 110. The counſel of Wincheſter, 110. Witneſſes in the twelfth century, 111—115. The conſtitutions of Clarendon, 111. Fluentius, 111. St Bernard, 112. Joachim of Calabria, 112. Peter de Bruis and Henry his diſciple, 112. Arnold of Breſcia, 113. The Waldenſes and Albigenſes, 113. Their opinions, 113. Teſtimonies concerning this ſect, 115, —118. Of Reinerius, the inquiſitor general, 116. Of Thuanus, 117. Of Mezeray, 118. Witneſſes in the thirteenth century, 118—120. Farther account of the Waldenſes and Albigenſes, 118. Almeric and his diſciples, 119. William of St Amour, 119. Robert Groſthead or Greathead, biſhop of Lincoln, 129. Matthew Paris, 121. Witneſſes in the fourteenth century, 121—123. Dante and Petrarch, 121. Peter Fitz Caſſiodor, 121. Michael Cæſenas and William Occam, 121. Marſilius of Padua, 121. In Germany and England the Lollards, 122. The famous John Wickliff, 122. The Lollards remonſtrance to the parliament, 123. Witneſſes in the fifteenth century, 123—126. The followers of Wickliff, 124. William Sawtre, 124. Thomas Badby, 124. Sir John Oldcaſtle, 124. In Bohemia John Huſs and Jerome of Prague, 124. Opinions of the Bohemians or Huſſites, 125. Jeronimo Savonarola, 126. In the ſixteenth century the Reformation, 128. Hence an anſwer to popiſh queſtion, Where was your religion before Luther? 129. ver. 15, 16, 17, 18. a ſummary account of the ſeventh trumpet and the third woe, the particulars

will

will be enlarged upon hereafter, 130. Concluſion to the firſt part, 231.

DISSERTATION XXV.

An ANALYSIS *of the* REVELATION.

PART. II.

131—155.

The right diviſion of the revelation into two parts, 131. This latter part an enlargement and illuſtration of the former, 132. ver. 19. of the eleventh chapter ſhould have been made, ver. 1. of the twelfth chapter, 133.

CHAP. XII. ver. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. the church perſecuted by the great red dragon, 134. The church repreſented as a mother bearing children unto Chriſt, 134. The great red dragon the Heathen Roman empire, 135. His jealouſy of the church from the beginning, 136. But yet the church brought many children unto Chriſt, and in time as ſuch were promoted to the empire, 136. Conſtantine particularly, who ruled all nations with a rod of iron, 136. The woman's flight into the wilderneſs here anticipated, cometh in properly afterwards, 137. ver. 7—12. the war in heaven repreſents the conteſts between the Heathen and Chriſtian religions, 137—140. The Chriſtian prevails over the Heathen religion, 138. Conſtantine himſelf and the Chriſtians of his time deſcribe his conqueſts under the ſame image, 139. Still new woes, though but for a ſhort time, threatened to the inhabiters of the earth, 140. ver. 13—17. The dragon depoſed ſtill perſecutes the church, 140—142. Attempts to reſtore the Pagan, and ruin the Chriſtian religion, 140. The church now under the protection of the empire, 141. Her flight afterwards into the wilderneſs, 141. Inundations of barbarous nations excited to overwhelm the Chriſtian religion, 141. But on the contrary the Heathen conquerors ſubmit to the religion of the conquered Chriſtians, 142. Another method of perſecuting the church, 142.

CHAP. XIII. ver. 1—10. the deſcription of the ten-horned beaſt ſucceſſor to the great red dragon, 142—150.

All,

All, both papiſts and proteſtants, agree that the beaſt repreſents the Roman empire, 144. Shewn to be not Pagan but Chriſtian, not imperial but papal Rome 144. How ſucceſſor to the great red dragon, 145. How one of his heads was as it were wounded to death, and his deadly wound was healed, 146. The world in ſubmitting to the religion of the beaſt, did in effect ſubmit again to the religion of the dragon, 147. The beaſt perfectly like the little horn in Daniel, 147. A general account of his blaſphemies and exploits, and how long to prevail and proſper, 147. A particular account of his blaſphemies, 148. His making war with the ſaints, and overcoming them, and ſo eſtabliſhing his authority, 148. An admonition to engage attention, 150. Something added by way of conſolation to the church, 150. Ver. 11—18: the deſcription of the two-horned beaſt, 150—160. The ten-horned beaſt, the Roman ſtate in general, the two-horned beaſt the Roman clergy in particular, 151. His riſe, and power, and authority, 151. His pretended miracles, 152. His making an image to the beaſt, 153. What this image of the beaſt is, 153. His interdicts and excommunications, 155. The number of the beaſt explained, 155, &c.

CHAP. XIV. Ver. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5: the ſtate of the true church in oppoſition to that of the beaſt, 160. Ver. 6, 7: the principal effort towards a reformation in the public oppoſition of emperors and biſhops to the worſhip of ſaints and images in the eighth and ninth centuries, 162—164. Ver. 8: another effort by the Waldenſes and Albigenſes, who pronounced the church of Rome to be the apocalyptic Babylon, and denounced her deſtruction, 164. Ver. 9—13: the third effort by Martin Luther and his fellow-reformers, who proteſted againſt all the corruptions of the church of Rome, as deſtructive of ſalvation, 166—169. A ſolemn declaration from heaven to comfort them, 167. How the dead were bleſſed from henceforth, 167. Ver. 14—20: repreſent the judgments of God upon the followers and adherents of the beaſt, under the figures, firſt of harveſt, then of vintage, 169—171. Theſe judgments yet to be fulfilled, 170, &c.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV. a preparatory vision to the pouring out of the seven vials, 172, 173. These seven last plagues belong to the seventh and last trumpet, or the third and last woe-trumpet, and consequently are not yet fulfilled, 172. Seven angels appointed to pour out the seven vials, 173.

CHAP. XVI. Ver. 1: the commission to pour out the seven vials, which are so many steps of the ruin of the Roman church, as the trumpets were of the ruin of the Roman empire, 174. Rome resembles Egypt in her punishments as well as in her crimes, 174. Ver. 2: the first vial or plague, 175. Ver. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7: the second and third vials or plagues, 175. Ver. 8, 9: the fourth vial or plague, 176. Ver. 10. 11: the fifth vial or plague, 177. Ver. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16: the sixth vial or plague, 177. Ver. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21: the seventh or last vial or plague, 179.

CHAP. XVII. Having seen how Rome resembles Egypt in her plagues, we shall now see her fall compared to Babylon, 180. Ver. 1—6: an account premised of her state and condition, 180. St John called upon to see the condemnation and execution of the great whore, 181. This character more proper to modern than ancient Rome, 182. Her sitting upon a scarlet-coloured beast with seven heads and ten horns, 182. Her ornaments of purple and scarlet colour, with gold and precious stone, and pearls, 183. Her enchanting cup, 184. Her inscription upon her forehead, 184. Her being drunken with the blood of the saints, 186. Ver. 7—18: the angel explains the mystery of the woman, and of the beast that carried her, 187, &c. A general account of the beast and his threefold state, 188. The seven heads are explained primarily to signify the seven mountains on which Rome is situated, 189. Also to signify seven forms of government, 189. What the five fallen, 189. What the sixth, 189. What the seventh or eighth, 191. The ten horns explained to signify ten kings or kingdoms, 191. Their giving their power and strength unto the beast, 191. The extensiveness of the power and dominion of Rome, 192. The same kings, who helped to raise her, to pull her

her down, 193. The woman explained to ſignify the great city, or Rome, 194.

CHAP. XVIII. Ver. 1—8: a deſcription of the fall and deſtruction of ſpiritual Babylon, 194, &c. To become the habitation of devils and foul ſpirits, 195. A warning to forſake her communion, 196. To be utterly burnt with fire, 196. Ver. 9—20: the conſequences of her fall, the lamentations of ſome, and rejoicings of others, 197, &c. Ver. 21—24: her utter deſolation foretold, 198, &c.

CHAP. XIX. Ver. 1—10: the church exhorted to praiſe God for his judgments upon her, 200, &c. Her ſmoke to riſe up for ever, 201. God alſo to be praiſed for the happy ſtate of the reformed church in this period, 201. St John prohibited to worſhip the angel, 222. Ver. 11—21: the victory and triumph of Chriſt over the beaſt and the falſe prophet, 220, &c.

CHAP. XX. Ver. 1—6. Satan is bound, and the famous millennium commences, or the reſurrection of the ſaints and their reign upon earth for a thouſand years, 204, &c. The millennium not yet fulfilled, though the reſurrection be taken figuratively, 206. But the reſurrection to be underſtood literally, 207. Other prophets have foretold, that there ſhall be ſuch a happy period as the millennium, 207. St John only, that the martyrs ſhall riſe to partake of it, and that it ſhall continue a thouſand years, 208. The Jewiſh and Chriſtian church have both believed, that theſe thouſand years will be the ſeventh millennary of the world, 208. Quotations from Jewiſh writers to this purpoſe, 208. From Chriſtian writers, St Barnabas, Juſtin Martyr, Tertullian, Lactantius, 209, &c. How this doctrine grew afterwards into diſrepute, 213. Great caution required in treating of it, 214. Ver. 7—10: Satan to be looſed again, and to deceive the nations, Gog and Magog, 214, &c. How Gog and Magog are to be underſtood, 215. The final overthrow of Satan, 216. Ver. 11—15: the general reſurrection and judgment, and end of the world, 216.

CHAP. XXI. Ver. 1—8: the new heaven, the new earth, and the new Jeruſalem, 218. The new heaven and the new earth to take place after the millennium, 219.

Ver.

Ver. 9—27: a more particular deſcription of the new Jeruſalem, 221, &c.

CHAP. XXII. Ver. 1—5: a continuation of the deſcription of the new Jeruſalem, 223. Ver. 6, 7: a ratification and confirmation of the foregoing particulars, with a bleſſing upon thoſe who keep the ſaying of this book, 224, &c. Ver. 8—21: In the concluſion of ſeveral particulars to confirm the divine authority of this book, &c. This book that ſure word of prophecy mentioned by St Peter, 227. A double bleſſing upon thoſe who ſtudy and obſerve it, 228.

DISSERTATION XXVI.

Recapitulation of the prophecies relating to Popery.

p. 229.—270.

Popery being the great corruption of Chriſtianity, there are more prophecies relating to that than to almoſt any other diſtant event, 229. It is thought proper to repreſent theſe in one view, 229. I. It is foretold that there ſhould be ſuch a power as that of the pope and church of Rome uſurped in the Chriſtian world, 229. A tyrannical, idolatrous, and antichriſtian power foretold, 230. A great apoſtacy in the church foretold, 230. This apoſtacy to conſiſt chiefly in the worſhipping of demons, angels, and departed ſaints, 230. The ſame church, that is guilty of this idolatry, to forbid marriage and enjoin abſtinence from meats, 230. The pope's making himſelf equal and even ſuperior to God, 231. His extending his authority and juriſdiction over ſeveral countries and nations, 231. The power and riches of the clergy, 232. The pomp and ſplendour of their ceremonies and veſtments, 232. Their policy, and lies, and pious frauds, 232. Their pretended viſions and miracles, 232. Their excommunications of heretics, 233. The making war with the ſaints and prevailing againſt them, 233. Beſides theſe direct, other more oblique prophecies, 233, &c. Babylon, Tyre, Egypt, the types of Rome, 234. More frequent intimations of popery in the New Teſtament, 234. In our Saviour's caution in giving honour to his mother, and in rebuking St Peter, 234. In his inſtitution-

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tution of the laſt ſupper, 235. In his reproving ſo particularly the vices of the Scribes and Phariſees, 235. In his prohibitions of implicit faith and obedience, of the worſhip of angels, of all pretences to works of merit and ſupererogation, of lording it over God's heritage, of the ſervice of God in an unknown tongue, &c. 235. In St Paul's admoniſhing the Romans to beware of apoſtaſy, 236. In St Peter's and St Jude's deſcription of falſe teachers, 236. St Paul's prediction of the corruption of the laſt days, 236. II. Not only foretold that there ſhould be ſuch a power, but the place and the perſons likewiſe are pointed out, 237. In Daniel's deſcription of the little horn which only one perſon in the world can fully anſwer, 237. Daniel's character of the blaſphemous king, which agrees better with the head of the Roman, than with the head of the Greek church, 238. In St Paul's portrait of the Man of Sin, 239. In St John's viſion of the ten horned beaſt, and of the woman riding upon the beaſt, 240. Several arguments to ſhew that not pagan, but papal Rome was intended, 241. III. Beſides the place and the perſons, the time alſo is ſignified of this tyrannical power, when, and how long, 242, &c. To ariſe in the latter days of the Roman empire, 242. To prevail 1260 years, 244. The beginning not to be dated too early, 244. To be fixed in the eight century, and probably in the year 727. 245. IV. The fall and deſtruction of this antichriſtian power, 245, &c. The ſecond woe of the Othman empire muſt end, before the third woe can be poured out upon the kingdom of the beaſt, 245. The divine judgments upon the kingdom of the beaſt diſplayed under a variety of figures and repreſentations, 248. Antichriſt and his ſeat both to be deſtroyed by fire, 248. About the time of the fall of the Othman empire and of the Chriſtian Antichriſt, the converſion and reſtoration of the Jews, 249. The proper order of theſe events, 250. After the deſtruction of Antichriſt the glorious millennium commences, or the kingdom of Chriſt upon earth for a thouſand years, 250. Beſt to forbear all curious inquiries into this ſubject, 252. After the thouſand years and the general judgment, the world to be deſtroyed, and the new heaven and the new earth to ſuc-

ceed, 252. Concluſion; the corruptions of popery being ſo particularly foretold, we have the leſs reaſon to be ſurpriſed and offended at them, 253. The goſpel will finally prevail over all enemies and oppoſers, 253.

CONCLUSION.

p. 254—270.

From the inſtances of the truth of prophecy may be inferred the truth of Revelation, 254. A ſummary view of the prophecies now fulfilling in the world, 255. A large quotation from Dr Clarke tending to confirm and illuſtrate the ſame ſubject, 256—265. No room for any poſſible forgery of the prophecies, 265. The harmony, variety, and beauty of the prophetic writings, 265. Though ſome parts are obſcure for good reaſons, yet others are ſufficiently clear, and the perfect completion will produce a perfect underſtanding of all the prophecies, 265. Human learning requiſite to explain the prophecies, and particularly a competent knowledge of hiſtory, 266. The patrons of infidelity are only pretenders to learning and knowledge, 267. Modern infidelity worſe even than that of the Jews, 267. So many inſtances of prophecies and their completions, the ſtrongeſt atteſtations of a divine revelation, 267. Miracles and other proofs of the truth of the Chriſtian religion, 268. Prophecies accompliſhed the greateſt of all miracles, 269. Concluſion, 270.

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XXIV.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE REVELATION.

IN TWO PARTS.

PART I.

IT is very uſeful, as well as very curious and entertaining, to trace the riſe and progreſs of religions and governments; and in taking a ſurvey of all the different religions and governments of the world, there is none perhaps that will ſtrike us more with wonder and aſtoniſhment than that of Rome, how ſuch a myſtery of iniquity could ſucceed at firſt and proſper ſo long, and under the name of Chriſt introduce Antichriſt. Other hereſies and ſchiſms have obtained place and credit among men for a time, and then have been happily expoſed and ſuppreſſed. Arianiſm once ſucceeded almoſt univerſally; for a while it grew and flouriſhed mightily, but in proceſs of time it withered and faded away. But Popery hath now prevailed I know not how many centuries, and her renowned hierarchs have not, like the fathers of other ſects, ſtole into ſecret meetings and conventicles, but have infected the very heart of the Chriſtian church, and uſurped the chief ſeat of the weſtern world: have not only engaged in their cauſe private perſons, and *led captive ſilly women*, but have trampled on the necks of princes and emperors themſelves, and the lords and tyrants of mankind have yet been the blind ſlaves and vaſſals of the holy See. Rome Chriſtian hath carried her conqueſts even further than Rome Pagan. The Romaniſts themſelves make univerſality and perpetuity the ſpecial marks and characters of their church; and no people more induſtrious than they in *compaſſing ſea and land to make proſelytes*.

All ſincere proteſtants cannot but be greatly grieved the ſucceſs and prevalence of this religion, and the pa-

piſts as much boaſt and glory in it, and for this reaſon proudly denominate theirs *the catholic* religion. But it will abate all confidence on the one hand, and baniſh all ſcruples on the other; if we conſider that this is nothing more than what was ſignified before-hand by the Spirit of prophecy. It is directly foretold, that there ſhould be ſuch a power, as that of the Pope of Rome, exerciſed in the Chriſtian church, and that it ſhould prevail for a long ſeaſon, but at laſt ſhould have a fall. Several clear and expreſs prophecies to this purpoſe have been produced out of Daniel and St Paul in the courſe of theſe diſſertations: but others clearer ſtill, and more copious and particular, may be found in the Apocalyps or Revelation of St John, who was the greateſt as he was the laſt prophet of the Chriſtian diſpenſation, and hath comprehended in this book, and pointed out the moſt memorable events and revolutions in the church, from the apoſtles days to the confirmation of the myſtery of God.

But to this book of the Apocalyps or Revelation it is uſually objected, that it is ſo wrapt and involved in figures and allegories, is ſo wild and viſionary, is ſo dark and obſcure, that any thing or nothing, at leaſt nothing clear and certain, can be proved or collected from it. So learned a man as Scaliger is noted for ſaying * that Calvin was wiſe, becauſe he wrote no comment upon the Revelation. A celebrated † wit and divine of our own church hath not ſcrupled to aſſert, that that book either finds a man mad, or makes him ſo. Whitby, though a moſt uſeful commentator on the other books of the New Teſtament, would not yet adventure upon the Revelation. "I confeſs I do it not, ‡ (ſays he,) for want of wiſdom; that is becauſe I have neither ſufficient reading nor judgment to diſcern the intendment of the prophecies contained in that book." Voltaire is pleaſed to ſay, that Sir Iſaac Newton

* Calvinus ſapit, quod in Apocalypſin non ſcripſit. Vide Scaligerana ſecunda, p. 41. But Scaliger was not very conſiſtent in his opinion of the Revelation. For as the Biſhop of Rocheſter remarks he ſays in another place, Hoc poſſum gloriari me nihil ignorare eorum quæ in Apocalypſi, Canonico vere libro, prophetice ſcribuntur, præter illud caput in quo ea ſepties repetitur: ignoro enim idne tempus præterierit, an futurum ſit. Scaligerana tertia, p. 13.

† Dr South. See Vol. 2. Serm. II p. 412. 6th Edit.

‡ See Whitby's pref. to his Treatiſe of the Millennium.

Newton wrote his comment upon the Revelation, to console mankind for the great ſuperiority that he had over them in other reſpects: but Voltaire, though a very agreeable, is yet a very ſuperficial writer, and often miſtaken in his judgment of men and things. He never was more miſtaken, than in affirming that Sir Iſaac Newton has explained the Revelation in the ſame manner with all thoſe who went before him; a moſt evident proof that he had never read either the one or the others, for if ever he had read them, he muſt have perceived the difference. However it is undeniable that even the moſt learned men have miſcarried in nothing more than in their comments and explanations of this book. To explain this book perfectly is not the work of one man or of one age: and probably it will never all be clearly underſtood, till it is all fulfilled. It is a memorable thing, that Biſhop Burnet * relates to this purpoſe of his friend the moſt learned Biſhop Lloyd of Worceſter. He ſays that that excellent perſon was employed above twenty years in ſtudying the Revelation with an amazing diligence and exactneſs, and that he had foretold and proved from the Revelation the peace made between the Turk and the emperor in the year 1668 long before it was made, and that after this he ſaid the time of the Turk's hurting the papal Chriſtians was at an end: and he was ſo poſitive in this, that he conſented that all his ſcheme ſhould be laid aſide, if † ever the Turk engaged in a new war with them. But it is very well known, that the Turk and the Emperor have engaged in a new war ſince that time, and probably may engage again, ſo that by his own conſent all his ſcheme is to be laid aſide: and if ſo great a maſter of learning, ſo nice a critic in chronology and hiſtory, one who perhaps underſtood the prophetic writings better than any man of his time, was ſo groſsly miſtaken in the moſt poſitive of his

* Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times. Vol. 2. p. 204.

† Upon reflection I think it not impoſſible that Biſhop Burnet might miſtake, and ſo might miſrepreſent Biſhop Lloyd's meaning. If he ſaid indeed, that the Turks would never engage in a new war with the papal Chriſtians, he was plainly in the wrong, the event hath ſhewn that he was in the wrong. If he ſaid only that the Turks would no more hurt the papal Chriſtians, would no more ſubdue any Chriſtian ſtate or potentate, he was probably in the right; the prophet ſeemeth to intimate the ſame thing, and the event hitherto confirms it.

calculations, it may ſerve at leaſt as an admonition to others of inferior abilities to beware how they meddle with theſe matters, and rather to avoid the rocks and ſhelves about which they ſee ſo many ſhipwrecks.

Not that this book is therefore to be deſpiſed or neglected. They who cenſure and diſſuade the ſtudy of it, do it for the moſt part becauſe they have not ſtudied it themſelves, and imagine the difficulties to be greater than they are in reality. It is ſtill 'the ſure word of prophecy;' and men of learning and leiſure cannot better employ their time and abilities than in ſtudying and explaining this book, provided they do it, as Lord * Bacon adviſeth, "with great wiſdom, ſobriety, and reverence." Lord Bacon adviſeth it with regard to all the prophecies, but ſuch caution and reverence are more eſpecially due to this of St John. "The folly of interpreters has been, as Sir Iſaac Newton † obſerves, to foretel times and things by this prophecy, as if God deſigned to make them prophets. By this raſhneſs they have not only expoſed themſelves, but brought the prophecy alſo into contempt. The deſign of God was much otherwiſe. He gave this and the prophecies of the Old Teſtament, not to gratify mens curioſities, by enabling them to foreknow things, but that after they were fulfilled they might be interpreted by the event, and his own providence, not the interpreters, be then manifeſted thereby to the world." If therefore we could confine ourſelves to the rules of juſt criticiſm, and not indulge lawleſs and extravagant fancies; if we would be content with ſober and genuine interpretation, and not pretend to be prophets, nor preſume to be wiſe above what is written; we ſhould more conſider thoſe paſſages which have already been accompliſhed, than frame conjectures about thoſe which remain yet to be fulfilled. Where the facts may be compared with the predictions, there we have ſome clue to guide us through the labyrinth: and though it may be difficult to trace out every minute reſemblance, yet there are ſome ſtrong lines and features, which I think cannot fail of ſtriking every one, who will but impartially and duly examine them.

We

* — Magna cum ſapientia, ſobrietate, et reverentia—See the quotation preſixed to the Introduction.

† Sir Isaac Newton's Obſervations upon the Apocalyps. Chap. i. p. 251.

We ſhould be wanting to the ſubject, and leave our work unfiniſhed, if we ſhould omit ſo material a part of prophecy. 'And yet ſuch a diſquiſition is not to be entered upon haſtily, but after a diligent peruſal of the beſt authors, both foreign and domeſtic; and it will be happy, if out of them all there can be formed one entire ſyſtem, complete and conſiſtent in all its parts. As Sir Iſaac Newton * ſays, "Amongſt the interpreters of the laſt age there is ſcarce one of note who hath not made ſome diſcovery worth knowing." But our greateſt obligations are owing to three particularly, Mr Mede, Vitringa, and Dr Daubuz. We ſhall find reaſon generally to concur with one or more of them; but as they often differ from one another, ſo we ſhall differ ſometimes from all the three, and follow other guides, or perhaps no guides at all. What ſatisfaction we may give to others, is very uncertain; we ſhall at leaſt have the ſatisfaction ourſelves of tracing the ways of providence. It is little encouragement to this kind of ſtudies to reflect, that two of the moſt learned men of their times, as well as two of the beſt interpreters of this book, Mr Mede and Mr Daubuz, the one died a fellow of the college, and the other a vicar of a poor vicarge in Yorkſhire. Mr Mede, as we read in the memoirs of his life, was ſo modeſt, that he wiſhed for nothing more than a donative or ſinecure to be added to his fellowſhip; but even this he could not obtain.

Alas! what boots it with inceſſant care
To tend the homely ſlighted ſhepherd's trade,
And ſtrictly meditate the thankleſs Muſe?
Were it not better done as others uſe, &c.
MILTON's LYCIDAS.

But however let us proceed, encouraged by that divine benediction, 'Bleſſed is he that reads, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep thoſe things which are written therein.'

CHAP. I.

1 THE Revelation of Jeſus Chriſt, which God gave unto him, to ſhew unto his ſervants things which muſt ſhortly come to paſs; and he ſent and ſignified

* Sir Iſaac Newton, ibid. p. 253.

nified it by his angel unto his ſervant John:

2 Who bare record of the word of God, and of the teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt, and of all things that he ſaw.

3 Bleſſed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep thoſe things which are written therein: for the time is at hand.

The book opens, ver. 1, 2, 3. with the title or inſcription of the book itſelf; the ſcope and deſign of it, to foretel things which ſhould ſhortly begin to be fulfilled, and ſucceed in their due ſeaſon and order, till all were accompliſhed; and the bleſſing pronounced on him who ſhall read and explain it, and on them who ſhall hear and attend to it. The diſtinction is remarkable of 'him that readeth, *and of* them that hear;' for books being then in manuſcript, were in much fewer hands, and it was a much readier way to publiſh a prophecy or any thing by public reading than by tranſcribing copies. It was too the cuſtom of that age to read all the apoſtolical writings in the congregation of the faithful; but now only ſome few parts of this book are appointed to be read on certain feſtivals.

4 John to the ſeven churches which are in Aſia: Grace *be* unto you, and peace from him which is, and which was, and which is to come; and from the ſeven ſpirits which are before his throne;

5 And from Jeſus Chriſt, *who is* the faithful witneſs, *and* the firſt begotten of the dead, and the prince of the kings of the earth: Unto him that loved us, and waſhed us from our ſins in his own blood,

6 And hath made us kings and prieſts unto God and his Father; to him *be* glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

7 Behold he cometh with clouds, and every eye ſhall ſee him, and they *alſo* which pierced him: and all kindreds of the earth ſhall wail because of him: even ſo, Amen.

8 I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, ſaith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty.

The apoſtle dedicates his book, ver. 4, 5, 6. to the ſeven churches of the Lydian or proconſular Aſia, wiſhing them grace and peace from the eternal God as the author and giver, and from the ſeven ſpirits, the repreſentatives and miniſters

miniſters of the Holy Ghoſt, as the inſtruments; and from Jeſus Chriſt as the Mediator, who is mentioned laſt, becauſe the ſubſequent diſcourſe more immediately relates to him. To the dedication he ſubjoins a ſhort and ſolemn preface, ver. 7, 8. to ſhew the great authority of the divine perſon, who had commiſſioned him to write the Revelation.

9 I John, who alſo am your brother, and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jeſus Chriſt, was in the iſle that is called Patmos, for the word of God, and for the teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt.

10 I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day, and heard behind me a great voice, as of a trumpet,

11 Saying, I am Alpha and Omega, the firſt and the laſt: and, What thou ſeeſt, write in a book, and ſend *it* unto the ſeven churches which are in Aſia; unto Epheſus, and unto Smyrna, and unto Pergamos, and unto Thyatira, and unto Sardis, and unto Philadelphia, and unto Laodicea.

12 And I turned to ſee the voice that ſpake with me, and being turned, I ſaw ſeven golden candleſticks;

13 And in the midſt of the ſeven candleſticks, *one* like unto the Son of man, clothed with a garment down to the foot, and girt about the paps with a golden girdle.

14 His head and *his* hairs *were* white like wool, as white as ſnow; and his eyes *were* as a flame of fire;

15 And his feet like unto fine braſs as if they burned in a furnace; and his voice as the ſound of many waters.

16 And he had in his right hand ſeven ſtars; and out of his mouth went a ſharp two edged ſword: and his countenance *was* as the ſun ſhineth in his ſtrength.

17 And when I ſaw him, I fell at his feet as dead: and he laid his right hand upon me, ſaying unto me, Fear not; I am the firſt and the laſt:

18 *I am* he that liveth, and was dead; and behold I am alive for ever more, Amen; and have the keys of hell and death.

19 Write the things which thou haſt ſeen, and the things which are, and the things which ſhall be hereafter.

20 The myſtery of the ſeven ſtars which thou ſaweſt in my right hand, and the ſeven golden candleſticks.

The

The ſeven ſtars are the angels of the ſeven churches: and the ſeven candleſticks which thou ſaweſt, are the ſeven churches.

He then, ver. 9—20. mentions the place, where the Revelation was given, and deſcribes the manner and circumſtances of the firſt viſion. The place, where the Revelation was given, was Patmos, a deſolate iſland in the Archipelago, whither he was baniſhed for the confeſſion of the goſpel. It is not well known, at what time, or by whom he was baniſhed into this iſland; but we may ſuppoſe it to have happened in the reign of Nero more probably than in that of Domitian. It is inded the more general opinion, that the Apocalyps was written in Domitian's reign; and this opinion is founded upon the * teſtimony of Irenæus, who was the diſciple of Polycarp, who had been the diſciple of St John. This authority is great, and is made ſtill greater, as it is confirmed by † Euſebius in his Chronicle and in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. But Euſebius a little afterwards in the ‡ ſame hiſtory recites a memorable ſtory out of Clemens Alexandrinus; that St John, after he returned from Patmos, committed a hopeful young man to the care of a certain biſhop; that the biſhop received him into his houſe, educated, inſtructed, and at length baptized him; that the biſhop afterwards remitting of his care and ſtrictneſs, the young man was corrupted by idle and diſſolute companions, revelled with them, robbed with them, and forming them into a gang of high-way men was made their captain, and became the terror of all the country; that after ſome time St John coming upon other occaſions to reviſit the ſame biſhop, inquired after the young man, and was informed that he was not to be found in the church, but in ſuch a mountain with his fellow-robbers; that St John called for a horſe, and rode immediately to the place; that when the young man ſaw him, he fled away from him; that St John forgetting his age eagerly purſued after him, recalled him, and reſtored him to the church. Now all theſe tranſactions muſt neceſſarily take up ſome years;

* Iren. adverſ. Hæres. Lib. 5. Cap. 30. p. 449. Edit. Grabe.

† Euſebii Chron. Lib. 1. Edit. Scalig. p. 80. Gr. p. 44. Lat. Vide etiam, p. 164. Libri poſterioris, et Chron. Can. p. 208. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. 3. Cap. 18.

‡ Euſeb. Hiſt. ibid. Cap. 23.

years; and may ſeem credible if St John was baniſhed by Nero, but are altogether impoſſible if he was baniſhed by Domitian; for he ſurvived Domitian but a very few years, and he was then near 100 years old, and ſo very weak and infirm, that he * was with great difficulty carried to church, and could hardly ſpeak a few words to the people, and much leſs ride briſkly after a young robber. Epiphanius † aſſerts, that he was baniſhed into Patmos, and wrote the Apocalyps there, in the reign of Claudius: but Epiphanius being not a correct writer, he might poſſibly miſtake Claudius for his ſucceſſor Nero, eſpecially as Nero had aſſumed the name of Claudius, by whom he was adopted, Nero Claudius Cæſar. This date is perhaps near as much too early, as the time of Domitian is too late. The churches of Syria have thus ‡ inſcribed their verſion; "The Revelation made to John the Evangeliſt by God in the iſland Patmos into which he was baniſhed by Nero the Cæſar." The ancient commentators || Andreas and Arethas affirm, that it was underſtood to be written before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem. But if it was written before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, it might naturally be expected that ſuch a memorable event would not have been unnoticed in this prediction; and neither was it unnoticed in this prediction, as will be ſeen hereafter. Our Saviour's repeating ſo frequently in this book, 'Behold I come quickly—Behold, he cometh with clouds, and every eye ſhall ſee him, and they alſo who pierced him, and all kindreds of the earth ſhall wail because of him'—and the like expreſſions, cannot ſurely be ſo well underſtood of any other event as of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, which *coming* was alſo ſpoken of in the goſpels, and what other *coming* was there ſo ſpeedy and conſpicuous? So many ſpurious Apocalypſes, written by Cerinthus and others in early times, demonſtrate evidently that the Apocalyps of St John in imitation whereof they were written, was ſtill earlier, and was held in high eſtimation

* Hieron. in Epiſt. ad Galat. Cap. 6. Tom. 4. Part Prior. Col 314. Edit. Benedict.

† Epiphan. adverſ. Hæreſ. Lib. 1. Tom. 2. Sect. 12. p. 434 Sect. 33. p. 456. Edit. Petav.

‡ Revelatio quæ facta eſt Joanni evangeliſtæ a Deo in Patmo inſula, in quam injectus fuit a Nerone Cæſare.

|| Andrea in Apoc. VI. 16. Arethas in Apoc. XVIII. 19.

eſtimation among Chriſtians. But what is to me an unanſwerable argument, the ſtile itſelf, ſo full of Hebraiſms, and as I may ſay ſo full of barbariſms, and even ſoleciſms, as ſome * even of the ancients have obſerved, manifeſtly evinces, that the author was but lately come out of Judea, was little accuſtomed to write in Greek, and had not yet attained to the greater purity of ſtile, which appears in his Goſpels and Epiſtles. On the contrary it is urged, that there are internal marks in the book itſelf of its being of a later date than Nero's reign, that the churches of Aſia could not have changed and degenerated ſo much in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, that they had not then been expoſed to perſecution, nor had Antipas ſuffered martyrdom at Pergamos, the perſecutions by Nero being confined to the metropolis of the empire. But why might not St John charge the churches of Aſia with having degenerated and 'fallen from their firſt love,' as well as St Paul accuſe the church of Corinth, 1 Cor. iii. 3. of being *carnal* and having 'envying, and ſtrife, and diviſions among them;' or complain of the churches of Galatia, Galat. i. 6. 'I marvel that ye are ſo ſoon removed from him that called you into the grace of Chriſt unto another goſpel,' iii. 1. 'O fooliſh Galatians, who hath bewitched you that ye ſhould not obey the truth, before whoſe eyes Jeſus Chriſt hath been evidently ſet forth;' or write to Timothy the firſt Biſhop of Epheſus, 2 Tim. i. 15. 'Thus thou knoweſt that all they which are in Aſia be turned away from me?' Why might not the churches of Aſia be liable to perſecution, when it is ſaid, 2 Tim. iii. 12. that 'all who live godly in Chriſt Jeſus ſhall ſuffer perſecution;' when unto the Philippians, i. 29. 'it was given in the behalf of Chriſt, not only to believe on him, but alſo to ſuffer for his ſake;' and when the Theſſalonians, 1 Theſſ. ii. 14. 'ſuffered like things of their own countrymen, as the churches in Judea of the Jews;' and manifeſted, 2 Theſſ. i. 4. 'their patience and faith in all their perſecutions and tribulations which they endured?' As for Antipas there is no genuine hiſtory or authentic

* Διάλεκτον μεντοι και γλωσσαν εκ ακριβους ελληνιζουσαν αυτου βλεπω, αλλ' ιδιωμασι μεν βαρβαρικοις χρωμενον και που και σολοικιζοντα. Verum dictionem ejus non admodum Græcam animadverto, ſed barbariſmis atque interdum ſolœciſmis inquinatam, Dionyſius Alex. apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. 7. Cap. 25.

thentic account of him? it is not known, whether what he was, when he ſuffered, or who cauſed him to be put to death, ſo that nothing can be from thence inferred one way or other. Neither is it certain that the perſecutions by Nero were confined to the metropolis; they raged indeed moſt there, but were extended likewiſe over all the provinces, as * Oroſius teſtifies with others. Sir Iſaac Newton hath farther † ſhewn, that in the Epiſtles of St Peter, and in St Paul's Epiſtle to the Hebrews, there are ſeveral alluſions to this book of the Apocalyps; and St Peter and St Paul, all the ancients agree, ſuffered martyrdom in the end of Nero's reign. It may indeed be retorted, that St John might borrow from St Peter and St Paul, as well as St Peter and St Paul from St John; but if you will conſider and compare the paſſages together, you will find ſufficient reaſon to be convinced, that St Peter's and St Paul's are the copies, and St John the original. Moreover it is to be obſerved, that this Revelation was given *on the Lord's day*, when the apoſtle's heart and affections, as we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, were ſublimed by the meditations and devotions of the day, and rendered more recipient of divine inſpiration. The heavenly viſions were vouchſafed to St John, as they were before to Daniel, Dan. ix, x. after ſupplication and prayer: and there being ‡ two kinds of prophetic revelation in a viſion and a dream, the Jews accounted a viſion ſuperior to a dream, as repreſenting things more perfectly and [illegible] life.

In the firſt viſion Jeſus Chriſt, or his angel, ſpeaking in his name, and acting in his perſon, appears amid 'the ſeven golden candleſticks,' meaning 'the ſeven churches.' His clothing is ſomewhat like the high prieſt's, and he is deſcribed much in the ſame manner as the divine appearances in Daniel's viſions, Dan. vii. 9. x. 5, &c. St John at the ſight of ſo glorious a perſon fell down ſenſeleſs before him, as Daniel did upon the ſame occaſion; and

* Primus Romæ Chriſtianos ſuppliciis et mortibus affecit; ac per omnes provincias pari perſecutione excruciari imperavit Lib. 7 Cap. 7. p. 473. Edit. Havercamp.

† Sir Iſaac Newton's Obſ. upon the Apoc. Chap. 1. p. 239—246.

‡ In iſtis duabus partibus, *ſomnio* et *viſione*, continentur omnes prophetiae gradus. Maimon. in More Nevoch. Part. 2. Cap. 36. Smith's Diſcourſe of Prophecy, Chap. 2. p. 174, 175.

like Daniel too, he is graciously raised and encouraged, and commanded to write 'the things which he had seen,' contained in this chapter, 'and the things which are,' the present state of the seven churches represented in the two next chapters, 'and the things which shall be hereafter,' the future events which begin to be exhibited in the fourth chapter, as it is there said, ve. 1. 'Come up hither, and I will shew thee things which must be hereafter.'

CHAP. II.

1 UNTO the angel of the church of Ephesus, write, These things saith he that holdeth the seven stars in his right hand, who walketh in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks.

2 I know thy works, and thy labour, and thy patience, and how thou canst not bear them which are evil: and thou hast tried them which say they are apostles, and are not; and hast found them liars:

3 And hast borne, and hast patience, and for my name's sake hast laboured, and hast not fainted.

4 Nevertheless I have *somewhat* against thee, because thou hast left thy first love.

5 Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent.

6 But this thou hast, that thou hatest the deeds of the Nicolaitans, which I also hate.

7 He that hath an ear let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches. To him that overcometh I will give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God.

8 And unto the angel of the church in Smyrna, write, These things saith the first and the last, which was dead, and is alive;

9 I know thy works, and tribulation, and poverty, (but thou art rich) and I *know* the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews, and are not, but *are* the synagogue of Satan.

10 Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer: behold, the devil shall cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried; and ye shall have tribulation ten days: be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.

11 He

11 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit ſaith unto the churches, He that overcometh, ſhall not be hurt of the ſecond death.

12 And to the angel of the church in Pergamos, write, Theſe things ſaith he, which hath the ſharp ſword with two edges;

13 I know thy works, and where thou dwelleſt, *even* where Satan's ſeat *is:* and thou holdeſt faſt my name, and haſt not denied my faith, even in thoſe days wherein Antipas *was* my faithful martyr, who was ſlain among you, where Satan dwelleth.

14 But I have a few things againſt thee, becauſe thou haſt there them that hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balak to caſt a ſtumbling-block before the children of Iſrael, to eat things ſacrificed unto idols, and commit fornication.

15 So haſt thou alſo them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitans, which thing I hate.

16 Repent; or elſe I will come unto thee quickly, and will fight againſt them with the ſword of my mouth.

17 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit ſaith unto the churches, To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the hidden manna, and will give him a white ſtone, and in the ſtone a new name written, which no man knoweth, ſaving he that receiveth *it.*

18 And unto the angel of the church in Thyatira, write, Theſe things ſaith the Son of God, who hath his eyes like unto a flame of fire, and his feet *are* like fine braſs;

19 I know they works, and charity, and ſervice, and faith, and thy patience, and thy works; and the laſt to be more than the firſt.

20 Notwithſtanding, I have a few things againſt thee, becauſe thou ſuffereſt that woman Jezebel, which calleth herſelf a propheteſs, to teach and to ſeduce my ſervants to commit fornication, and to eat things ſacrificed unto idols.

21 And I gave her ſpace to repent of her fornication, and ſhe repented not.

22 Behold, I will caſt her into a bed, and them that commit adultery with her into great tribulation, except they repent of their deeds.

23 And I will kill her children with death; and all the churches ſhall know that I am he which ſearcheth the reins and hearts; and I will give unto every one of you according to your works.

24 But unto you I ſay,

and unto the reſt in Thyatire, As many as have not this doctrine, and which have not known the depths of Satan, as thy ſpeak, I will put upon you none other burden.

25 But that which ye have *already*, hold faſt till I come.

26 And he that overcometh and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations;

27 (And he ſhall rule them with a rod of iron: as the veſſels of a potter ſhall they be broken to ſhivers) even as I received of my Father.

28 And I will give him the morning ſtar.

29 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit ſaith unto the churches.

CHAP. III.

1 AND unto the angel of the church in *Sardis*, write, Theſe things ſaith he that hath the ſeven Spirits of God, and the ſeven ſtars; I know thy works, that thou haſt a name, that thou liveſt, and art dead.

2 Be watchful and ſtrengthen the things which remain, that are ready to die: for I have not found thy works perfect before God.

3 Remember therefore how thou haſt received and heard, and hold faſt, and repent. If therefore thou ſhalt not watch, I will come on thee as a thief, and thou ſhalt not know what hour I will come upon thee.

4 Thou haſt a few names even in Sardis, which have not defiled their garments; and they ſhall walk with me in white: for they are worthy.

5 He that overcometh the ſame ſhall be clothed in white raiment: and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life, but I will confeſs his name before my Father, and before his angels.

6 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit ſaith unto the churches.

7 And to the angel of the church in Philadelphia, write, Theſe things ſaith he that is holy, he that is true, he that hath the key of David, he that openeth, and no man ſhutteth: and ſhutteth, and no man openeth:

8 I know thy works, behold, I have ſet before thee an open door, and no man can ſhut it: for thou haſt a little ſtrength, and haſt kept my word, and haſt not denied my name.

9 Behold,

9 Behold, I will make them of the ſynagogue of Satan (which ſay they are Jews, and are not, but do lie) behold, I will make them to come and worſhip before thy feet, and to know that I have loved thee.

10 Becauſe thou haſt kept the word of my patience, I alſo will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which ſhall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth.

11 Behold, I come quickly: hold that faſt which thou haſt, that no man take thy crown.

12 Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he ſhall go no more out: and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, *which is* new Jeruſalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God: and *I will write upon him* my new name.

13 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit ſaith unto the churches.

14 And unto the angel of the church of the Laodiceans, write, Theſe things ſaith the Amen, the faithful and true witneſs, the beginning of the creation of God:

15 I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot: I would thou wert cold or hot.

16 So then, becauſe thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will ſpue thee out of my mouth:

17 Becauſe thou ſayeſt, I am rich, and increaſed with goods, and have need of nothing: and knoweſt not that thou art wretched, and miſerable, and poor, and blind, and naked.

18 I counſel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire, that thou mayeſt be rich; and white raiment, that thou mayeſt be clothed, and *that* the ſhame of thy nakedneſs do not appear; and anoint thine eyes with eye-ſalve, that thou mayeſt ſee.

19 As many as I love, I rebuke, and chaſten: be zealous therefore, and repent.

20 Behold, I ſtand at the door, and knock: if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will ſup with him, and he with me.

21 To him that overcometh will I grant to ſit with me in my throne, even as I alſo overcame, and am ſet down with my Father in his throne.

22 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit ſaith unto the churches.

The ſecond and third chapters contain the ſeven epiſtles to the ſeven churches of Aſia, Epheſus, Smyrna, Pergamus, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea. Theſe ſeven are addreſſed particularly, becauſe they were under St John's immediate inſpection; he * conſtituted biſhops over them; he was as it were their metropolitan, and reſided much at Epheſus, which is therefore named the firſt of the ſeven. The main ſubjects too of this book are compriſed of ſevens, ſeven churches, ſeven ſeals, ſeven trumpets, and ſeven vials; as ſeven was alſo a myſtical number throughout the Old Teſtament. Many contend, and among them ſuch learned men as More and Vitringa, that the ſeven epiſtles are prophetical of ſo many ſucceſſive periods and ſtates of the church from the beginning to the concluſion of all. But it doth not appear, that there are or were to be ſeven periods of the church, neither more nor leſs; and no two men can agree in aſſigning the ſame periods. There are likewiſe in theſe epiſtles ſeveral innate characters, which are peculiar to the church of that age, and cannot be ſo well applied to the church of any other age. Beſides other arguments, there is alſo this plain reaſon; the laſt ſtate of the church is deſcribed in this very book as the moſt glorious of all, but in the laſt ſtate in theſe epiſtles, that of Laodicea, the church is repreſented as 'wretched, and miſerable, and poor, and blind, and naked.'

But though theſe epiſtles have rather a literal than a myſtical meaning, yet they contain excellent moral precepts and exhortations, commendations and reproofs, promiſes and threatenings, which may be of uſe and inſtruction to the church in all ages. The form and order of the parts you will find the ſame almoſt in all the epiſtles; firſt a command to write; then ſome character and attributes of the ſpeaker, taken from the viſion in the firſt chapter, and appropriated to the matter of each epiſtle; then commendations or reproofs with ſuitable promiſes or threatenings; and then in all the ſame conclusion: 'He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit ſaith unto the churches.' What therefore the Spirit ſaith unto one church, he ſaith in ſome meaſure to all the churches.

The

* Tertull. adverſ. Marcion. Lib. 4. Sect. 5. p. 415. Edit. Rigaltii. Paris. 1675. Millii Prolegom. in Nov. Teſt. p. 20.

The church of Epheſus in particular is admoniſhed to repent, and forewarned that if ſhe would not repent, her 'candleſtick ſhould be removed out of his place.' But this admonition belonged equally to all the churches: and hath not the candleſtick been accordingly removed out of its place, and the light of the goſpel taken from them? Were they not ruined and overthrown by their hereſies and diviſions from within, and by the arms of the Saracens from without? and doth not Mohammediſm ſtill prevail and proſper in thoſe countries, which were once the glory of Chriſtendom, their churches turned into moſques, their worſhip into ſuperſtition? Epheſus in particular, * which was once ſo magnificent and glorious a city, is become a mean ſordid village, with ſcarcely a ſingle family of Chriſtians dwelling in it, as approved authors teſtify. To the church of Smyrna it is predicted, that ſhe ſhould 'have tribulation ten days, or ten years' according to the uſual ſtile of prophecy: and the greateſt perſecution that the primitive church ever endured was the perſecution of Diocletian, which laſted † ten years, and grievouſly afflicted all the Aſian, and indeed all the eaſtern churches. This character can agree to none of the other general perſecutions, for none of the others laſted ſo long as ten years. As the commendatory and reproving part of theſe epiſtles exhibits the preſent ſtate of the churches, ſo the promiſſory and threatning part foretels ſomething of their future condition; and in this ſenſe and in none other, can theſe epiſtles be ſaid to be prophetical.

The firſt epiſtle is addreſſed to the church of Epheſus as it was the Metropolis of the Lydian Aſia, and the place of St John's principal reſidence. It was, according

* Hodie enim hæc urbs Aſianæ olim magnificentiæ exemplum, plane ſordet, caſulis et gurguſtiis deformata, non civitas, ſed vicus: et vix ibidem ſupereſt una Chriſtianorum familia, ut ex certis conſtat teſtibus, iiſdemque eruditis viris, qui hodiernam Epheſum deſcripſerunt, Smitho (Notit. Sept. Eccleſ. Aſ. p. 4) et Ricaultio (de Stat. Eccl. Græc. p. 50) Vitring. p. 72, 73.

† Euteb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib. 8. Cap. 15. et 15. Lactant. de Mort. Perſecut. Cap. 48.

‡ Quæ perſecutio omnibus fere ante actis diuturnior—Nam per decem annos, &c Oroſ. Lib. 7. Cap. 25. p. 528. Edit. Havercamp.

ing to * Strabo, one of the beſt and moſt glorious cities, and the greateſt emporium of the proper Aſia. It is called by Pliny † one of the eyes of Aſia, Smyrna being the other: but now as eye witneſſes have related, ‡ it is venerable for nothing but the ruins of palaces, temples, and amphitheatres. It is called by the Turks Ajaſaluk, or the temple of the moon, from the magnificent ſtructure formerly dedicated to Diana. The church of St Paul is wholly deſtroyed. The little which remains of that of St Mark is nodding to ruin. The only church remaining is that dedicated to St John, which is now converted into a Turkiſh moſque. The whole town is nothing but a habitation of herdſmen and farmers, living in low and humble cottages of dirt, ſheltered from the extremities of weather by mighty maſſes of ruinous walls; the pride and oſtentation of former days, and the emblem in theſe of the frailty of the world, and the tranſient vanity of human glory. All the inhabitants of this once famous city amount not now to above forty or fifty families of Turks without one Chriſtian family among them; ſo ſtrikingly hath the denunciation been fulfilled, that 'their candle ſtick ſhould be removed out of his place.'

Smyrna was the neareſt city to Epheſus, and for that reaſon probably was addreſſed in the ſecond place. It is ſituated ‖ on lower ground than that ancient city, and lieth about forty-five miles northward of Epheſus. It is called Eſmir by the Turks, and is celebrated not ſo much for the ſplendour and pomp of the buildings (for they are rather mean and ruinous) as for the number and wealth and commerce of the inhabitants. The Turks have here fifteen moſques, and the Jews ſeveral ſynagogues. Among theſe enemies of the Chriſtian name the Chriſtian religion alſo flouriſhes in ſome degree. Smyrna ſtill retains the dignity of a metropolis, although there are only two churches of the Greeks. But beſides them,

* Strabo Lib. 14. p. 634. Edit. Paris p. 941. Edit. Amſtel. 1707. Lib. 12. p. 577. Edit. Paris p. 865. Edit. Amſtel. 1707.

† Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 5 Cap. 31. p. 280. Edit. Harduin.

‡ Smith. Jept. Aſiæ Eccleſ. Notit. Ryeaut's Preſent State of the Greek Church. Chap. 2. Wheler and Spon's Voyage, Van. Egmont's and Heyman's Travels, Vol. 1. Chap 9.

‖ Smith. Ryeaut, Wheler and Spon ibid Van Egmont's and Heyman's Travels, Chap. 8.

them; here is a great number of Chriſtians of all nations, ſects, and languages. The Latin church hath a monaſtery of Franciſcans. The Armenians have one church. But the Engliſh, who are the moſt conſiderable number, next to the Greeks and Armenians, have only a chapel in the conſul's houſe, which is a ſhame, ſays Wheler, conſidering the great wealth they heap up here, beyond all the reſt: yet they commonly excel them in their paſtor: for I eſteem a good Engliſh prieſt, an evangeliſt, if compared with any of the reſt. Frequent plagues and earthquakes are the great calamities of the place; but the Chriſtians are here more conſiderable, and in a far better condition than in any other of the ſeven churches: as if the the promiſe was ſtill in ſome meaſure made good to Smyrna. 'Fear none of thoſe things, which thou ſhalt ſuffer; be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.'

Pergamus, formerly the metropolis of the Helleſpontic Myſia, and the ſeat of the Attalic kings, is * by the Turks with ſome little variation ſtill called Bergamo, and hath its ſituation about ſixty-four miles to the north of Smyrna. Here are ſome good buildings but more ruins. All the city almoſt is occupied by the Turks, very few families of Chriſtians being left, whoſe ſtate is very ſad and deplorable. Here is only one church remaining, dedicated to St Theodorus; and that the name of Chriſt is not wholly loſt and forgotten in Pergamus, is owing to the care of the metropolitan of Smyrna, who continually ſendeth hither a prieſt to perform the ſacred offices. The cathedral church of St John is buried in its own ruins; their angel or biſhop removed; and its fair piliars adorn the graves, and rotten carcaſes of its deſtroyers, the Turks; who are eſteemed about two or three thouſand ſouls in number. Its other fine church, called Santa Sophia, is turned into a moſque, and daily profaned with the blaſphemies of the falſe prophet. There are not in the whole town above a dozen or fifteen families of miſerable Chriſtians, who till the ground to gain their bread, and live in the moſt abject and ſordid ſervitude. There is the leſs reaſon to wonder at the wretched condition of this church, when we conſider that it was the very 'throne of Satan;' that

* Smith, Rycaut, Wheler and Spon, ibid.

that they 'ran greedily after the error of Balaam, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication;' and that 'they held the impure doctrines of the Nicolaitans, which Christ detested.' It was denounced unto them to 'repent, or else he would come unto them quickly, and fight against them,' as the event evinces that he hath done.

Next to Pergamus is Thyatira * situated at the distance of about forty-eight miles to the south-east. Certain heretics called *Alogi* (which may not improperly be interpreted *unreasonable men*) have † affirmed, but have only affirmed without any proof, that at the time of St John's writing there was a Christian church at Thyatira. Epiphanius admits it, and thence infers that St John must have written with a prophetic spirit. The objection is frivolous, and Epiphanius might have returned a better answer than *argumentum ad hominem*, and instead of allowing the fact and arguing from thence for the divinity of the book, he should absolutely have denied their affirmation. For there is no just reason for doubting, that at this time there was a Christian church at Thyatira. This very epistle is a sufficient proof of it. It is said expressly, Acts xix. 10. that 'all they who dwelt in Asia' (meaning Asia Minor) 'heard the word of the Lord Jesus, both Jews and Greeks:' and what ground is there for thinking that the city of Thyatira was alone excepted? It is said particularly, Acts xvi. 14, that *Lydia*, an eminent trader and 'seller of purple, of the city of Thyatira, was baptized with her household.' At present the city is called by the Turks ‡ Akhisar or the white castle, from the great quantities of white marble there abounding. Only one ancient edifice is left standing. The rest, even the churches, are so destroyed, that no vestiges of them are to be found. The principal inhabitants are Turks, who have here eight mosques, when not so much as one Christian church is still remaining. So terribly have the divine judgments been poured upon this church for 'committing fornication, and eating things sacrificed unto idols. And I gave her space to repent of her fornication, and she repented not.'

Sardis,

* Smith and Rycaut. ibid

† Epiphan adverſ. Haereſ. Lib. 2. Tom. 1. Cap. 33. p. 455. Vol. 2. Edit. Petav

‡ Smith and Rycaut ibid.

Sardis, once the renowned capital of Crœſus and the rich Lydian kings, * is now no longer worthy of the name of a city. It lieth about thirty-three miles to the ſouth of Thyatira, and is called by the Turks Sart or Sard, with little or no variation from the low original name. It is a moſt ſad ſpectacle, nor can one forbear weeping over the ruins of ſo great a city. For now it is no more than an ignoble village, with low and wretched cottages of clay; nor hath it any other inhabitants, beſides ſhepherds and herdſmen, who feed their flocks and cattle in the neighbouring plains. Yet the great extent and grandeur of the ruins abundantly ſhew, how large and ſplendid a city it was formerly. The Turks themſelves have only one moſque, a beautiful one indeed, perverted to that uſe from a Chriſtian church. Very few Chriſtians are here to be found; and they with great patience, or rather ſenſeleſs ſtupidity, ſuſtain a miſerable ſervitude; and what is far more miſerable, are without a church, without a prieſt among them. Such is the deplorable ſtate of once the moſt glorious city: but 'her works were not found perfect, that is they were found blameable, 'before God;' ſhe was *dead*, even while ſhe *lived*; and ſhe is puniſhed accordingly.

Philadelphia, ſo called from Attalus Philadelphus its builder, † is diſtant from Sardis about twenty-ſeven miles to the ſouth-eaſt. It is called by the Turks Alah Shahr, or the beautiful city, on accouut of its delightful ſituation, ſtanding on the declivity of the mountain Tmolus, and having a moſt pleaſant proſpect on the plains beneath, well furniſhed with divers villages, and watered by the river Pactolus. It ſtill retains the form of a city, with ſomething of trade to invite the people to it, being the road of the Perſian caravans. Here is little of antiquity remaining, beſides the ruins of a church dedicated to St John, which is now made a dunghill to receive the offals of dead beaſts. Howſoever, God hath been pleaſed to preſerve ſome of this place to make profeſſion of the Chriſtian faith, there being above two hundred houſes of Chriſtians, and four churches; whereof the chief is dedicated

* Smith, Rycaut, Wheler and Spon. Ibid. Van Egmont's and Heyman's Travels. Chap. 10.

† Smith, Rycaut, Wheler and Spon. Ibid.

cated to Panagia or the holy Virgin; the other to St George who is of great fame among the oriental Christians; the third to Theodore; and the fourth to St Taxiarchus, as St Michael the arch-angel is called by the Greeks. Next to Smyrna this city hath the greatest number of Christians, and Christ hath promised a more particular protection to it; 'I know thy works: behold I have set before thee an open door, and none can shut it: for thou hast a little strength, and hast kept my word, and hast not denied my name. Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world to try them that dwell upon the earth.' Than which, as Dr Spon saith, what could be said more formally to foretel the coming of the Turks, the open enemies of Christianity, who seem to be sent on purpose for the punishment of our crimes, and to distinguish the faithful from the false Christians, who pretend to be so, and are not?

Laodicea lay south of Philadelphia, in the way to return to Ephesus: and if you will inspect the maps of Asia Minor, you will find the seven churches to lie in a kind of circular form, so that the natural progress was from Ephesus to Smyrna, from Smyrna to Pergamus, from Pergamus to Thyatira, from Thyatira to Sardis, from Sardis to Philadelphia, from Philadelphia to Laodicea, and from Laodicea round to Ephesus again; which is the method and order that St John hath observed in addressing them, and was probably the circuit that he took in his visitation. That there was a flourishing church at Laodicea in the primitive times of Christianity, is evident from St Paul's Epistle to the Colossians, wherein frequent mention is made of the Laodiceans, as well as from this Epistle of St John. But the doom of Laodicea * seemeth to have been more severe and terrible than that of almost any other of the seven churches. For it is now utterly destroyed and forsaken of men, and is become an habitation only for wolves, foxes, and jackalls, a den of dragons, snakes, and vipers. And that because the Lord hath executed the judgment, that he had pronounced upon her: that all the world might know, and tremble at

* Smith, Rycaut, Wheler, and Spon. Idid.

at the fierce anger of God againſt impenitent, negligent and careleſs ſinners. For ſuch was the acculation of the *lukewarm* Laodiceans, who grew proud and ſelf-conceited, thinking themſelves much better than they really were. Wherefore, becauſe they were 'neither hot nor cold,' they were lothſome to Chriſt; and he therefore aſſured them, that he 'would ſpue them out of his mouth.' The ruins ſhew it to have been a very great city, ſituate upon ſix or ſeven hills, and incompaſſing a large ſpace of ground. Some notion may be formed of its former greatneſs and glory from three theatres and a circus which are remaining; one of which is truly admirable, as it was capable of containing above thirty thouſand men, into whoſe area they deſcended by fifty ſteps. This city is now called Eſki Hiſar or the old caſtle; and though it was once the mother church of ſixteen biſhoprics, yet it now lieth deſolate, not ſo much as inhabited by ſhepherds, and ſo far from ſhewing any of the ornaments of God's ancient worſhip, it cannot now boaſt of an anchorite's or hermit's chapel, where God's name is praiſed or invoked.

Such is the ſtate and condition of theſe ſeven once glorious and flouriſhing churches; and there cannot be a ſtronger proof of the truth of prophecy, nor a more effectual warning to other Chriſtians. "Theſe objects, as Wheler * juſtly obſerves, ought to make us, who yet enjoy the divine mercies, to tremble, and earneſtly contend to find out *from whence we are fallen*, and do daily fall from bad to worſe; that God is a God *of purer eyes than to behold iniquity*; and ſeeing *the axe* is thus long ſince *put to the root of the tree*, ſhould it not make us repent and turn to God, leſt *we likewiſe periſh?*—We ſee here *what deſtruction the Lord hath brought upon the earth.* But *it is the Lord's doing?* and thence we may reap no ſmall advantage by conſidering how *juſt* he is in all his *judgments*, and *faithful* in all his *promiſes*." We may truly ſay, 1 Cor. x. 11, 12. that 'all theſe things happened unto them for enſamples: and they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come. Wherefore, let him that thinketh he ſtandeth, take heed leſt he fall.'

* Wheler's Voyage. B. 3. p. 259, &c.

CHAP. IV.

1. AFTER this, I looked, and behold, a door *was* open in heaven: and the first voice which I heard, *was* as it were, of a trumpet talking with me; which said, Come up hither, and I will shew thee things which must be hereafter.

2 And immediately I was in the spirit: and behold, a throne was set in heaven, and *one* sat on the throne.

3 And he that sat was to look upon like a jasper, and a sardine stone: and *there was* a rainbow round about the throne, in sight like unto an emerald.

4 And round about the throne *were* four and twenty seats: and upon the seats I saw four and twenty elders sitting clothed in white raiment; and they had on their heads crowns of gold.

5 And out of the throne proceeded lightnings, and thundrings, and voices: and *there were* seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are the seven spirits of God.

6 And before the throne *there was* a sea of glass like unto crystal: And in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne *were* four beasts full of eyes before and behind.

7 And the first beast was like a lion, and the second beast like a calf, and the third beast had the face of a man, and the fourth beast *was* like a flying eagle.

8 And the four beasts had each of them six wings about him, and *they were* full of eyes within; and they rest not day and night, saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God almighty, which was, and is, and is to come.

9 And when those beasts give glory, and honour, and thanks to him that sat on the throne, who liveth for ever and ever.

10 The four and twenty elders fall down before him that sat on the throne, and worship him that liveth for ever and ever, and cast their crowns before the throne, saying,

11 Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honour, and power: for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are, and were created.

After this vision relating to 'the things which are,' other visions succeed of 'the things which must be hereafter,' ver. 1. The scene is laid in heaven; and the scenery drawn in allusion to Numb. i. ii. the incampment

ment of the children of Iſrael in the wilderneſs. God is repreſented, ver. 2, 3. ſitting on his throne, as in the tabernacle or temple, much in the ſame manner as the prophet Ezekiel, i. 26, 27, 28. hath deſcribed him. Next to the tabernacle encamped the prieſts and Levites; and next to the throne, ver. 4. 'were four and twenty elders ſitting,' anſwering to the princes of the four and twenty courſes of the Jewiſh prieſts; 'clothed in white raiment,' as emblems of their purity and ſanctity; 'and they had on their heads crowns of gold,' Chriſt having made them 1 Pet. ii. 9. 'a royal prieſthood, and Rev. 10. 'kings and prieſts unto God. Out of the throne proceeded, ver. 5. lightnings, and thunderings, and voices,' the uſual concomitants and attendants of the divine preſence: 'and there were ſeven lamps of fire burning before the throne,' anſwering to the golden candleſtick with ſeven lamps, which was before the moſt holy place in the tabernacle. Before the throne there was alſo, ver. 6. 'a ſea of glaſs, like unto chryſtal,' anſwering to the great molten ſea or laver in the temple of Solomon: 'and in the midſt of the throne, and round about the throne,' that is before and behind the throne, and on each ſide of the throne, 'were four beaſts or *rather* four living creatures, (ζωα) repreſenting the heads of the whole congregation in the four quarters of the world, and reſembling the Cherubim and Seraphim in Ezekiel's and Iſaiah's viſions, Ezek. i. 10. x. 14. Iſ. vi. 2, 3. or rather reſembling the four ſtandards or enſigns of the four diviſions in the camp of Iſrael, according to the * traditionary deſcription of them by Jewiſh writers, 'The firſt living creature was like a lion,' ver. 7. which was the ſtandard of Judah with the two other tribes in the eaſtern diviſion; 'and the ſecond like a calf *or* ox,' which was the ſtandard of Ephraim with the two other tribes in the weſtern diviſion; and the third had a face as a man,' which was the ſtandard of Reuben with the two other tribes and the ſouthern diviſion; 'and the fourth was like a flying eagle,' which was the ſtandard of Dan with the two other tribes in the northern diviſion: and this traditionary deſcription agrees alſo with the four faces of the Cherub in Ezekiel's viſions. Of

* Majores noſtri dixerunt, &c. See Aben Ezra and others quoted by Mr. Mede, p. 437.

these living creatures and of the elders the constant employment, ver. 8—11. is to celebrate, in hymns of praise and thanksgiving, the great and wonderful works of creation and providence.

CHAP. V.

1 AND I saw in the right hand of him that sat on the throne, a book written within and on the backside, sealed with seven seals.

2 And I saw a strong angel, proclaiming with a loud voice, Who is worthy to open the book, and to loose the seals thereof?

3 And no man in heaven, nor in earth, neither under the earth, was able to open the book, neither to look thereon.

4 And I wept much because no man was found worthy to open, and to read the book, neither to look thereon.

5 And one of the elders saith unto me, Weep not: behold, the Lion of the tribe of Juda, the root of David, hath prevailed to open the book, and to loose the seven seals thereof.

6 And I beheld, and lo, in the midst of the throne, and of the four beasts, and in the midst of the elders stood a Lamb, as it had been slain, having seven horns, and seven eyes, which are the seven spirits of God sent forth into all the earth.

7 And he came and took the book out of the right hand of him that sat upon the throne.

8 And when he had taken the book, the four beasts and four and twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps, and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints.

9 And they sung a new song, saying Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof; for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation;

10 And hast made us unto our God kings and priests, and we shall reign on the earth.

11 And I beheld, and I heard the voice of many angels round about the throne, and the beasts and the elders; and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands;

12 Saying with a loud voice, Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive power,

er, and riches, and wiſdom, and ſtrength, and honour, and glory, and bleſſing.

13 And every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and ſuch as are in the ſea, and all that are in them, heard I, ſaying, Bleſſing, and honour, and glory, and power be unto him that ſitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever.

14 And the four beaſts ſaid, Amen. And the four and twenty elders fell down and worſhipped him that liveth for ever and ever.

Future events are ſuppoſed by St John, as well as by Daniel and other prophets, in a beautiful figure, to be regiſtered in 'a book,' for the greater certainty of them. This book, ver. 1. is 'in the right hand of God,' to denote that as he alone directs the affairs of futurity, ſo he alone is able to reveal them. This book, through the abundance of the matter, was * 'written within and on the backſide;' as the roll of the book, which was ſpread before Ezekiel, ii. 10. was 'written within and without. It was alſo *ſealed* to ſignify that the decrees of God are inſcrutable, and ſealed 'with ſeven ſeals,' referring to ſo many ſignal periods of prophecy. In ſhort, we ſhould conceive of this book, that it was ſuch an one as the ancients uſed, a volume or roll of a book, or more properly a volume conſiſting of ſeven volumes, ſo that the opening of one ſeal laid open the contents only of one volume. All creatures are challenged, ver. 2. 'to open the book,' and to looſe the ſeals thereof.' But, ver. 3. 'no one (*οὐδεὶς*) in heaven, nor in earth, neither under the earth,' neither angels, nor men, nor departed ſpirits, were any of them qualified to comprehend and communicate the ſecret purpoſes of God. St John 'wept much,' ver. 4. at the ſad diſappointment: but who now is concerned or grieved, that he cannot underſtand theſe prophecies? However he is comforted, ver. 5. with an aſſurance, that ſtill there was one who had power and authority to reveal and accompliſh the counſels of God. The Son of God, and he alone, was found worthy to be the great revealer and interpreter of his Father's oracles; ver. 6, &c. and he obtained this privilege by the merits of his ſufferings

* So in Juvenal Sat. I. 5.

—ſummi plena jam margine libri,
Scripta et in tergo, nec dum finitus Oreſtes.

and death. Whereupon the whole church, ver. 8, &c. and all the angels, ver. 11, &c. and all creatures, ver. 13, &c. ſing praiſes to God and to the Lamb for ſuch glorious manifeſtations of divine providence. All this is by way of preface or introduction, to ſhew the great dignity, importance, and excellence of the propheeies here delivered.

CHAP. VI.

1 AND I ſaw when the Lamb opened one of the ſeals, and I heard as it were the noiſe of thunder, one of the four beaſts, ſaying, Come, and ſee.

2 And I ſaw, and behold, a white horſe; and he that ſat on him had a bow, and a crown was given unto him, and he went forth conquering, and to conquer.

As the ſeals are opened in order, ſo the events follow in order too. The firſt ſeal or period, ver. 1, 2. is memorable for conqueſt, and was proclaimed by the firſt of the four living creatures, who was like a lion, and had his ſtation in the eaſt. 'And I ſaw, and behold, a white horſe; and he that ſat on him had a bow, and a crown was given unto him, and he went forth conquering, and to conquer. This firſt period commenceth with Veſpaſian and Titus, who from commanding * in the eaſt were advanced to the empire; and Veſpaſian for this reaſon was regarded, † both by the Romans and foreigners as that great prince who was to come out of the eaſt, and obtain dominion over the world. They 'went forth to conquer;' for they made an entire conqueſt of Judea, deſtroying Jeruſalem, and carried the Jews captive into all nations. As theſe propheeies were written a few years before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, they properly begin with ſome alluſion to that memorable event; and a ſhort alluſion was ſufficient, our Saviour himſelf having enlarged ſo much upon all the particulars. The *bow*, the *white horſe*, and the *crown* are proper emblems of victory, triumph, and royalty; and the proclamation for conqueſt

* Hujus (Vitelli) tempore Veſpaſianus *in oriente* principatum arripuit. Aurel. Victor. Edit. Cap. 8.

† Tacit. Hiſt. Lib. 1. p. 217. Edit. Lipſii. Sueton. in Veſp. Cap. 4. Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 5. ſect. 4. p. 1283. Ed. Hud.

is fully made by a creature like a lion. This period continuing during the reigns of the Flavian family and the ſhort reign of Nerva, about 28 years.

They who ſuppoſe this book to have been written in Domitian's time, ſome years after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, are obliged to give another explanation of this firſt ſeal, applicable to ſome ſubſequent event, that it may not be deemed a hiſtory of things paſt inſtead of a prophecy of things to come. Now this notion is, that this firſt ſeal exhibits a repreſentation of the perſon and dignity of Chriſt, and of the triumphs of the Chriſtian religion over all the powers of Paganiſm. At the ſame time they allow (as it is generally allowed) that the ſix firſt ſeals eſpecially relate to Heathen Rome, and comprehend ſo many notable periods in the Roman hiſtory. But where then is the propriety or conſiſtence, of underſtanding the firſt ſeal of Chriſt and the Chriſtian religion, and the ſucceeding ſeals of ſucceſſive revolutions in the Roman empire, during its Pagan and unconverted ſtate? And what good reaſon can be given for repreſenting the church in triumph and glory, at a period when it was moſt grievouſly perſecuted and afflicted? Would it not have been more uniform and of a piece, and have agreed better with the ſeries and order of true hiſtory, if they had applied this firſt ſeal to the conqueſts of Veſpaſian and Titus and the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; as they have applied the ſecond ſeal to the wars of Trajan and Adrian with the Jews, and the third and following ſeals to tranſactions of other Roman emperors? The four living creatures have their ſtations, as we have ſhewn, in the four quarters, eaſt, weſt, ſouth and north, to denote from what part we are to look for the completion of the prophecy: and as Trajan proceeded from the *weſt*, Septimius Severus from the *ſouth*, and Maximine from the *north*, what other emperor before them, beſides Veſpaſian, came from the *eaſt*, which was the ſtation of the lion, who made the firſt proclamation? It ſhould ſeem therefore that the interpretation which was firſt propoſed is the more eligible, and indeed I cannot ſee how this firſt ſeal can be well explicated otherwiſe, conſiſtently with the truth of hiſtory and other circumſtances of the prophecy; and if this be the true interpretation, this is a further argument that

the

the book was more probably written in the perſecutions under Nero than in thoſe under Domitian.

3 And when he had opened the ſecond ſeal, I heard the ſecond beaſt ſay, Come and ſee.

3 And there went out another horſe *that was* red: and *power* was given to him that ſat thereon, to take peace from the earth, and that they ſhould kill one another: and there was given unto him a great ſword.

The ſecond ſeal or period, ver. 3, 4. is noted for war and ſlaughter, and was proclaimed by the ſecond living creature, who was like an ox, and had his ſtation in the weſt. 'And there went out another horſe that was red: and power was given to him that ſat thereon, to take peace from the earth, and that they ſhould kill one another; and there was given unto him a great ſword.' This ſecond period commenced with Trajan, who came from the weſt, being a * Spaniard by birth, and was the firſt foreigner who was elevated to the imperial throne. In his reign and that of his ſucceſſor Adrian there were horrid wars and ſlaughters, and eſpecally between the rebellious Jews and the Romans. Dion relates, † that the Jews about Cyrene ſlew of the Romans and Greeks two hundred and twenty thouſand men with the moſt ſhocking circumſtances of barbarity. In Egypt alſo, and in Cyprus, they committed the like barbarities, and there periſhed two hundred and forty thouſand men more. But the Jews were ſubdued in their turn by the other generals and Lucius ſent againſt them by Trajan. Euſebius writing

* Ἰσης ὁ Τραϊανος ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἰταλος, οὐδ' Ἰταλιωτης—μαλλον περιοδου ἀλλοδαπης τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαιων κρατος ἐσχηκεν. Trajanus homo Hiſpanus, nec Italus erat, nec Italicus—ante eum nemo alterius nationis imperium Romanum obtinuerat. Dion. Lib. 68. p. 771. Edit. Leunclav.

† Καὶ ἐν τουτῳ οἱ κατὰ Κυρηνην Ἰουδαιοι—τους τε Ῥωμαιους καὶ τους Ἑλληνας ἐφθειρον,—ὥστε καὶ σπονδας δυο καὶ εἰκοσι μυριαδας ἀπολεσθαι. ἐν τε Αἰγυπτῳ πολλα ἐδρασαν ὁμοια, καὶ ἐν τῃ Κυπρῳ ὡσαυτως—καὶ ἀπωλοντο καὶ ἐκει μυριαδες τεσσαρες καὶ εἰκοσι—ἀλλ' ἐκεινοις μεν ἀλλοι τε καὶ Λουκιος ὑστερον Τραϊανου πεμφθεις ἐπεκρατησαν. Interim Judæi, qui circum Cyrenen habitabant—Romanos pariter atque Græcos concidunt—ita ut interierint hominum ad ducenta viginti millia. Præterea in Ægypto Cyproque—conſimilia quædam perpetrarunt, ubi deſiderata ſunt hominum ducenta quadraginta millia.—Sed Judæi et ab aliis, et maxime a Lucio, quem Trajanus miſerat, ſubacti ſunt. Dion. ib. p. 786.

writing of the ſame time ſaith, * that the Jews inflamed as it were by ſome violent and ſeditious ſpirit, in the firſt conflict gained a victory over the Gentiles, who flying to Alexandria, took and killed the Jews in the city. The emperor ſent Marcius Turbo againſt them, with great forces by ſea and land; who in many battles ſlew many myriads of the Jews. The emperor alſo ſuſpecting that they might make the like commotions in Meſopotamia, ordered Lucius Quietus to expel them out of the province, who marching againſt them ſlew a very great multitude of them there. Oroſius treating of the ſame time ſaith, † that the Jews with an incredible commotion, made wild as it were with rage, roſe at once in different parts of the earth. For throughout all Lybia they waged the fierceſt wars againſt the inhabitants, and the country was almoſt deſolated. Egypt alſo and Cyrene and Thebais they diſturbed with cruel ſeditions. But in Alexandria they were overcome in battle. In Meſopotamia alſo war was made upon the rebellious Jews by the command of the emperor.

So

* ὡσπερ ὑπο πνευματος δεινου και τινος φασιωδους ἀναρριπισθεντες — ἐν τῃ πρωτῃ συμβολῃ ἐπικρατησαι αὐτων συνεβῃ των Ἑλληνων· οἱ και καταφυγοντες εἰς την Ἀλεξανδρειαν, τους ἐν τῃ πολει Ἰουδαιους ἐξωγρησαν τε και ἀνειλον.— ἐφ' οἷς ὁ αὐτοκρατωρ ἐπεμψε Μαρκιον Τυρβωνα συν δυναμει πεζῃ τε και ναυτικῃ, ἐτι δε και ἱππικῃ· ὃς πολλαις μαχαις — πολλας μυριαδας Ἰουδαιων —— ἀνειλεν· ὁ δε αὐτοκρατωρ ὑποστησας και τους ἐν Μεσοποταμιᾳ Ἰουδαιους ἐπιθησεσθαι τοις αὐτοῖς, Λουκιῳ Κυητῳ στρατιαν ἐπιτρεψαι της ἐπαρχιας αὐτους ὀρᾳ· ὃς και παραταξαμενος πλειστην πληθος των αὐτοῖ φονευει — velut a violento quodam et ſeditioſo daemone exagitati et primo quidem conflictu forte Judaei Gentiles ſuperaverant. Qui mox Alexandriam confugientes, Judaeos qui in eo urbe degebant, captos interfecerunt.— Itaque imperator Marcium Turbonem adverſus eos miſit cum pedeſtribus ac navalibus copiis, et cum equitatu. Hic multis praeliis conſertis — infinita Judaeorum millia — necci dedit. Sed imperator veritus ne Judaei qui Meſopotamia habitabant, incolas perinde aggrederentur, mandavit Lucio Quieto, ut eos extra provinciae fines deportaret. Qui inſtructa adverſus illos acie, ingentem eorum multitudinem proſtravit. Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib. 4. Cap. 2.

† Incredibile deinde motu, ſub uno tempore Judaei, quaſi rabie eſſerrati, per diverſus terrarum partes exarſerunt. Nam et per totam Lybiam adverſus incolas atrociſſima bella geſſerunt: quaeadeo tunc interfectes cultoribus deſolata eſt — Aegyptum vero totam et Cyrenem et Thebaida cruentis ſeditionibus turbaverunt. In Alexandria autem commiſſo praelio victi et adriti ſunt. In Meſopotamia quoque rebellantibus juſſu imperatoris bellum illatum eſt. Itaque multa millia eorum vaſta caede deleta ſunt. Sane Salaminan, urbem Cypri, interfectis omnibus accolis deleverunt. Oroſ. Hiſt. Lib. 7. Cap. 12. p. 487. Edit. Havercamp.

F

So that many thouſands of them were deſtroyed with vaſt ſlaughter. They utterly deſtroyed Salamis, a city of Cyprus, having firſt murdered all the inhabitants. Theſe things were tranſacted in the reign of Trajan; and in the reign of Adrian * was their great rebellion under their falſe Meſſiah Barchochab, and their final diſperſion, after fifty of their ſtrongeſt caſtles and nine hundred and eighty-five of their beſt towns had been demoliſhed, and after five hundred and eighty thouſand men had been ſlain by the ſword, beſides an infinite number who had periſhed by famine and ſickneſs and other caſualties, with great loſs and ſlaughter too of the Romans, inſomuch that the emperor forebore the uſual ſalutations in his letters to the ſenate. Here was another illuſtrious triumph of Chriſt over his enemies; and the Jews and the Romans, both the perſecutors of the Chriſtians were remarkably made the dreadful executioners of divine vengeance upon one another. The *great ſword* and *red horſe* are expreſſive emblems of this ſlaughtering and bloody period; and the proclamation for ſlaughter is fitly made by a creature like an ox that is deſtined for ſlaughter. This period continued during the reigns of Trajan and his ſucceſſors by blood or adoption, about 95 years.

5 And when he had opened the third ſeal, I heard the third beaſt ſay, Come, and ſee. And I beheld, and lo, a black horſe; and he that ſat on him had a pair of balances in his hand.

6 And I heard a voice in the midſt of the four beaſts ſay, A meaſure of wheat for a penny, and three meaſures of barley for a penny; and ſee thou hurt not the oil and the wine.

The third ſeal or period, ver. 5, 6. is characterized by the ſtrict execution of juſtice and judgment, and by the procuration of corn and oil and wine; and was proclaimed by the third living creature, who was like a man, and had his ſtation in the ſouth. 'And I beheld and lo, a black horſe; and he that ſat on him had a pair of balances in his hand. And I heard a voice in the midſt of the four living creatures ſay, A meaſure of wheat for a penny, and three meaſures of barley for a penny; and ſee thou hurt not the oil and the wine.' Where Grotius and others

* Euſeb. ibid. Cap. 6. Dion. ib. Lib. 69. p. 794.

thers have * obſerved, that a *chenix* of corn, the meaſure here mentioned, was a man's daily allowance, as a *penny* was his daily wages; ſo that if his daily labour could earn no more than his daily bread, without other proviſion for himſelf and his family, corn muſt needs bear a very high price. But whatever may be the capacity of the *chenix*, which is difficult to be determined, as it was different in different times and countries; yet ſuch care and ſuch regulations about the neceſſaries of life, imply ſome want and ſcarcity of them. Scarcity obligeth them to exactneſs in the price and meaſure of things. In ſhort, the intent of the prophecy is, that corn ſhould be provided for the people, but it ſhould be diſtributed in exact meaſure and proportion. The third period commenceth with Septimius Severus, who was an emperor from the ſouth, being † a native of Africa. He was an ‡ enactor of juſt and equal laws, and was very ſevere and implacable to offences; he would not ſuffer even petty larcenies to go unpuniſhed: as neither would Alexander Severus in the ſame period, who || was a moſt ſevere judge againſt thieves; and was ſo fond of the Chriſtian maxim, 'Whatſoever you would not have done to you, do not you to another,' that he commanded it to be engraven on the palace, and on the public buildings. Theſe two emperors were alſo no leſs celebreted for the procuring of corn and oil and other proviſions; and for ſupplying the Romans with them after they had experienced the want of them.

They

* Eſt autem χοινιξ tritici tantum, quanto homo ſanus in diem indiget, ut ex Herodoti libro tertio et ſeptimo obſervarunt eruditi, alii etiam ex Hippocrate, Diogene Laertio et Athenæo. Denarius vero tantum, quantum quoque die mereri poterat homo ſtrenue laborans, ut videre eſt Matt. XX. 2, &c. Grot in locum. Vide etiam Vitring. p. 259.

† Septimius Severus—oriundus ex Africa—Solus omni memoria et ante et poſtea ex Africa imperator fuet. Eutropius, Lib. 8. Cap. 10. Interfecto Didio Juliano, Severus Africa oriundus imperium obtinuit. Ælius Spartianus in Severo. Hiſt. Auguſt. Scriptores VI. p. 64. Edit. Salmaſii.

‡ Legum conditor longe æquabilium—implacabilis delictis—ac parva latrocinia quidem impunita patiebatur. Aurel. Victor de Cæſar. Cap. 20.

|| Severiſſimus judex contra fures—*Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris*; quam ſententiam uſque adeo dilexit, ut et in palatio et in publicis operibus præſcribi juberet. Lampridius in Alexandro. Hiſt. Auguſt. Script. VI. p. 123 et 132. Edit. Salmaſii.

They repaired the neglects of former times, and corrected the abuſes of former princes. Of Septimius Severus it is ſaid, that * the proviſion of corn, which he found very ſmall, he ſo far conſulted, that at his death he left a certain rate or allowance to the Roman people for ſeven years: and alſo of oil as much as for the ſpace of five years might ſupply not only the uſes of the city, but likewiſe of all Italy which might want oil. Of Alexander Severus it is alſo ſaid, that † he took ſuch care in providing for the Roman people, that the corn which Heliogabalus had waſted, he replaced out of his own money; the oil alſo, which Septimius Severus had given to the people, and which Heliogabalus had leſſened, he reſtored whole as before. The colour of the *black horſe* befits the ſeverity of their nature and their name, and the *balances* are the well known emblem of juſtice, as well as an intimation of ſcarcity; and the proclamation for juſtice and judgment, and for the procuration of corn and oil and wine, is fitly made by a creature like a man. This period continued during the reigns of the Septimian family about 42 years.

7 And when he had opened the fourth ſeal, I heard the voice of the fourth beaſt ſay, Come, and ſee.

8 And I looked, and behold, a pale horſe; and his name that ſat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him, and power was given unto them, over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with ſword, and with hunger, and with death, and with the beaſts of the earth.

The fourth ſeal or period, ver. 7, 8. is diſtinguiſhed by a concurrence of evils, war, and famine, and peſtilence, and wild beaſts; and was proclaimed by the fourth living creature, who was like an eagle, and had his ſtation in the north. ' And I looked, and behold, a pale horſe; and his name that ſat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him: and power was given unto them, over the fourth

* Rei frumentariæ, quam minimam repererat, ita conſuluit, ut excedens vita, ſeptem annorum canonem P. R. relinqueret. Spartian. ibid. p. 97. olei vero tantum ut per quinquennium non ſolum urbis uſibus, ſed et totius Italiæ quæ oleo egeret, ſufficeret. Spartian in Severo. ibid. p. 73.

† Commeatum populi Romani ſic adjuvit, ut quum frumenta Heliogabalus vertiſſet, vicem de propria pecunia loco ſuo reponet—Oleum quod Severus populo dederat, quodque Heliogabalus diminuerat, integrum reſtituit. Lamprid. in Alex. ibid. p. 121.

fourth part of the earth, to kill with ſword, and with hunger, and with death, and with the beaſts of the earth. Theſe are the ſame 'four ſore judgments,' with which Ezekiel xiv. 21. threatened Jeruſalem, 'the ſword, and the famine, and the noiſome beaſt, and the peſtilence;' for in the oriental languages the peſtilence is emphatically * ſtiled *death*. Theſe *four* were to deſtroy 'the fourth part' of mankind; and the image is very poetical of 'death riding upon a pale horſe, *and* hell or the grave following with him,' ready to ſwallow up the dead corpſes. This period commenceth with Maximine, who was an emperor from the north, being † born of barbarous parents in a village of Thrace. He was indeed a barbarian in all reſpects. There was not, as an ‡ hiſtorian affirms, a more cruel animal upon the earth; he was ſo cruel, that he was deſervedly called by the name of Cyclops, Buſiris, Phalaris, and the worſt of tyrants. The hiſtory of his, and ſeveral ſucceeding reigns is full of wars and murders, mutinies of ſoldiers, and invaſions of foreign armies, rebellions of ſubjects, and deaths of princes. There were more than twenty emperors in the ſpace of fifty years, and all, or moſt of them died in war, or were murdered by their own ſoldiers and ſubjects. Beſides lawful emperors, there were in the reign of Gallienus || thirty tyrants or uſurpers, who ſet up in different parts of the empire, and came all to violent and miſerable ends.

* Voce θανατος intelligendus eſt λοιμος ex Hebraiſmo: Nam ita מות ſumitur apud Jer. IX 21. et XVIII 21 ſic apud Strachidem Ieſum XXXIX 29 λιμος και θανατος, ubi itidem θανατος haud dubie peſtilentiam ſignificat Syrus quoque tum hic tum apud Lucam λοιμος. vertit מותא. i e θανατος. et LXX Hebraeorum דבר i. e. peſtem vertunt θανατον, ut et Chaldaeus et Latinus Lev XXVI. 25. Horum exemplo ſevero Sulpitius Hiſt I *mortem* pro *peſtilentia* poſuit Grot. in Matt XXIV. 7

† Hic de Vico Thraciae, vicino barbaris, barbaro etiam patre et matre genitus. Julius Capitolin in Maximin Hiſt Auguſt. Script. VI Edit Salmaſ. p 138 Vide etiam notas Salmas et Caſaubon. Μαξιμινος, το μεν γενος των ενδοτατων Θρακων και βαρβαρων: Max qui quod ad genus attinet, ex intimis Thracibus, et ſimul barbaris erat Herodian Lib 6. p. 143 Edit. H Steph 1581.

‡ Neque enim fuit crudelius animal in terris—tam crudelis fuit, ut illum alii Cyclopem, alii Buſiridem, alii Scironem, nonnulli Phalarim, multi Typhonem, vel Gygem vocarent. Jul. Cap. ibid. p. 141.

|| Vide Trebell. Pollio. de triginta tyrannis. Hiſt. Aug Script. VI p. 184, &c Edit. Salmaſii.

Here was ſufficient employment for the *ſword*; and ſuch wars and devaſtations muſt neceſſarily produce a *famine*, and the *famine* is another diſtinguiſhing calamity of this period. In the reign of Gallus, the Scythians made ſuch incurſions, that * not one nation ſubject to the Romans was left unwaſted by them, and every unwalled town, and moſt of the walled cities were taken by them. In the reign of Probus alſo † there was a great famine throughout the world; and for want of victuals the army mutinied, and ſlew him. An uſual conſequence of famine is the *peſtilence*, and the *peſtilence* is the third diſtinguiſhing calamity of this period. This peſtilence, according to ‡ Zonaras, ariſing from Ethiopia, while Gallus and Voluſian were emperors, pervaded all the Roman provinces, and for 15 years together incredibly exhauſted them; and ſo learned a man as Lipſius declares, that he never read of any greater plague, for the ſpace of time that it laſted, or of land that it overſpread. Zoſimus, ſpeaking of the devaſtations of the Scythians in the reign of Gallus before mentioned, farther addeth, that || the peſtilence was not leſs pernicious than the war, deſtroyed whatever was left of human kind, and made ſuch havock as it had never done in former times.

* ὡστε μηδε ἐν ἐθνες Ρωμαιοις ὑπηκοον ἀπορθητον ὑπο τουτων καταλειφθηναι, πασαν δε ὡς εἰπειν ατειχιστον πολιν, και των ωχυρωμενων τειχισι τας πλειους ἁλωναι. adeo quidem, ut nullo gens Romanae ditionis ab ei ſuon vaſtata manſerit, ſed omnia, prope dixerim, oppida deſtituta maenibus, et iiſdem munitorum magna pars, capta fuerint. Zoſim. in Gall. Lib. 1. Sect. 26.

* ἐγενετο λιμος κοσμικος μεγας, και μη ἐυρισκοντων ἀναλωματων, ἐφθειρεν ὁ στρατος, και ἐπιλθοντες ἐσφαξαν αυτον. fames ingens per totum orbem graſſata eſt: annona autem deficiente, ſeditione in exercitu excitata, a militibus interfectus eſt. Joan Malalae. Chronograph. p. 400. Edit. Oxon. 1691.

‡ Zonaras author eſt, nec caeteri tacuere, ſub Gallo et Voluſiano imperatoribus *peſtem* ab Æthiopia exortam omnes Romana provincias pervaſiſſe et per quindecim continuos annos incredibiliter exhauſiſſe. *Nec alia unquam major lues mihi lecta* (inquit virnoſtro ævo celebris) *ſpatio temporum, ſive terrarum* Mede. p. 446. Zonar. in Gal. et Voluſ. Lipſius de Conſtantin. Lib. 2. Cap. 23.

§ οὐ ἡττον δε τω πανταχοθεν ἐπιξηραντος πολεμω, και ὁ λοιμος πολεσι τε και κωμαις ἐπιγενομενος, ωστε λειψανον ην ἀνθρωπειον γενος διαφθειρειν, ὑπερ προτερον ἐν τοις φθασασι χρονοις τοσαυτην ἀνθρωπων ἀπωλειαν ἐργασαμενος. Nec minus bello, quod undique ſcaturiendo velut emerſerat, lues etiam peſtilens in oppidis atque vicis ſubſecuta, quicquid erat humani generis reliquum abſumſit quae ſane nunquam ſuperioribus ſaeculis tantam hominum ſtragem edediderat. Zoſim. ibid.

reigns. He ſaith alſo, that in the reign of Gallienus, * ſuch a grievous peſtilence as never happened at any time before, rendered the calamities inflicted by the barbarians, more moderate. He ſaith afterwards too in the reign of Claudius, that † the peſtilence ſeizing on the Romans as well as the barbarians, many of the army died, and alſo Claudius the emperor. Dionyſius in ‡ Euſebius treating of the ſame time, mentions the *war* and the *famine* and the *peſtilence*, as ſucceeding one another in their natural order. St Cyprian too mentions || all the three together, as troubling the world more at that time than at any other. He wrote alſo a § treatiſe upon this very peſtilence, which he intitled *De mortalitate*, as if he had taken the name from the prophecy which had predicted it. In ſhort, without alledging more teſtimonies, Eutropius affirms of Gallus and Voluſian, that ¶ their reign was remarkable only for the peſtilence and diſeaſes and ſickneſs. Oroſius ** aſſerts much the ſame thing: and Trebellius Pollio likewiſe †† informs us, that in the reign of Gallienus the peſtilence was ſo great that five thouſand men died in one day. When the countries lie thus uncultivated, uninhabited, unfrequented, the *wild beaſts* multiply, and come into the towns to devour men; which is the fourth diſtinguiſhing calamity of this period. This

* λοιμος ισχυρότατος ταις πολεσιν, οίος ουτω πρότερον εν παντι τω χρονω συνεβη τας μεν υπο των βαρβαρων συμφορας μετριωτερας απεφηνε. Tanta peſtis in civitatibus exorta, quanta nunquam prius ullo tempore exſtiterat calamitates a barbaris illatas leviores reddidit. Zoſim. ibid. Sect. 37.

† Ἀψαμενου δε του λοιμου και Ρωμαιων, απεφανον μεν πολλοι του στρατευματος, τελευτα δε και Κλαυδιος. Sed quod in Romanos quoque peſtis ſævire cæpiſſet, cum alii complures in exercitu mortui ſunt, tum etiam Claudius vivendi finem fecit. Zoſim. ibid. Sect. 46.

‡ Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib. 7. Cap. 22.

|| Sed enim cum dicas, plurimos conqueri quod bello crebrius ſurgant, quod lues, quod fames ſæviant, &c. Ad Demetrianum, p. 129. Edit. Felli. Quod autem crebrius bella continuant, quod ſterilitas et fames ſolicitudinem cumulant, quod ſævientibus morbis valetudo frangitur, quod humanum genus luis populatione veſtatur, &c. Ibid. p. 130.

§ Vide Edit. Felli. p. 110.

¶ Sola peſtilentia, et morbis, atque ægritudinibus notus eorum principatus fuit. Eutrop. Lib. 9. Cap. 5.

** Hac ſola pernicie inſignes Gallus et Voluſianus. Oroſ. Hiſt. Lib Cap. 21.

†† Peſtilentia tanta exiſtiterat ut uno die quinque millia hominum perirent. Trebell. Pollio. in Gall. p. 177. ibid.

would appear a probable conſequence of the former calamities, if hiſtory had recorded nothing of it: but we read in hiſtory that * five hundred wolves together entered into a city, which was deſerted by its inhabitants, and where the young Maximine chanced to be. It is well known, that the heathens maliciouſly aſcribed all public calamities to the Chriſtians, and among them we find objected † the wars which they were obliged to wage with lions and wild beaſts: as we may collect from Arnobius, who wrote ſoon after this time. The colour of the *pale horſe* is very ſuitable to the mortality of this period; and the proclamation for death and deſtruction is fitly made by a creature like an eagle that watches for carcaſes. This period continued from Maximine to Dioclesian about fifty years.

9 And when he had opened the fifth ſeal, I ſaw under the altar the ſouls of them that were ſlain for the word of God, and for the teſtimony which they held.

10 And they cried with a loud voice, ſaying, How long, O Lord, holy and true doſt thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?

11 And white robes were given unto every one of them, and it was ſaid unto them, that they ſhould reſt yet for a little ſeaſon, until their fellow-ſervants alſo, and their brethren that ſhould be killed as they were, ſhould be fulfilled.

The following ſeals have nothing extrinſical, like the proclamation of the living creatures, to determine from what quarter we muſt expect their completion; but they are ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed by their internal marks and characters. The fifth ſeal or period is remarkable for a dreadful perſecution of the Chriſtians, who are repreſented, ver. 9. 'lying under the altar,' (for the ſcene is ſtill in the tabernacle or temple) as ſacrifices newly ſlain and offered to God. They 'cry aloud' ver. 10. for the Lord to 'judge and avenge' their cauſe; that is, the cruelties exerciſed upon them were of ſo barbarous and atrocious a nature, as to deſerve and provoke the vengeance of the Lord,

* Lupi urbem quingenti ſimul ingreſſi ſunt, in quam ſe Maximinus contulerat—quae deſerta a civibus venienti Maximino patuit Julius Capitolin. in Max. Jun. p. 150. ibid.

† Quando cum feris bella, et praelia cum leonibus geſta ſunt? Nonante nos? Arnob adverſ. Gentes. L. 1. p. 5. Ed. Lug. Bat. 1651.

Lord. 'White robes are given unto every one of them,' ver. 11. as a token of their juſtification and acceptance with God; and they are exhorted to 'reſt for a ſeaſon,' till the number of the martyrs be completed; when they ſhall receive their full reward, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. Where Mr Lowman * obſerves very well, that "this repreſentation ſeems much to favour the immediate happineſs of departed ſaints, and hardly to conſiſt with that uncomfortable opinion, the inſenſible ſtate of departed ſouls, till after the reſurrection." There were other perſecutions before, but this was by far the moſt conſiderable, the tenth and laſt general perſecution which was begun by Diocletian, and continued by others, and laſted longer, and extended farther, and was ſharper and more bloody than any or all preceding; and therefore this was particularly predicted. Euſebius and Lactantius, who were two eye-witneſſes, have † written large accounts of it. Oroſius ‡ aſſerts, that this perſecution was longer and more cruel than all the paſt; for it raged inceſſantly for ten years by burning the churches, proſcribing the innocent, and ſlaying the martyrs. Sulpicius Severus too ‖ deſcribes it as the moſt bitter perſecution, which for ten years together depopulated the people of God; at which time all the world almoſt was ſtained with the ſacred blood of the martyrs, and was never more exhauſted by any wars. So that this became a memorable æra to the Chriſtians, under the name of the æra of Diocletian, or as it is otherwiſe called the æra of martyrs.

12 And I beheld when he had opened the ſixth ſeal, and lo, there was a great earthquake, and the ſun became black as ſackcloth of hair, and the moon became as blood.

13 And the ſtars of heaven fell unto the earth, even as a fig-tree caſteth her untimely

* See Lowman on the Rev. p. 51.

† Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib. 8. cum ſupplemento. Lactantius de Mortibus Perſecut. Cap. 7, &c.

‡—quae perſecutio omnibus fere ante actis diuturnior atque immanior fuit. Nam per decem annos incendiis eccleſiarum, proſcriptionibus innocentum, caedibus martyrum, inceſſabiliter acta eſt. Oroſ. Hiſt. Lib 7. Cap. 25. p. 538. Edit. Havercamp.

‖ Acerbiſſima perſecutio, quae per decem continuos annos plebem Dei depopulata eſt; qua tempeſtate omnis fere ſacro martyrum more orbis infectus eſt:—Nullis unquam magis bellis mundus exhauſtus eſt. Sulp. Sev. Hiſt. Sacr. Lib. 2. p. 99. Ed. Elz. 1650.

timely figs when ſhe is ſhaken of a mighty wind:

14 And the heaven departed as a ſcroll when it is rolled together: and every mountain and iſland were moved out of their places:

15 And the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every bond man, and every free man, hid themſelves in the dens, and in the rocks of the mountains:

16 And ſaid to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us and hide us from the face of him that ſitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb:

17 For the great day of his wrath is come; and who ſhall be able to ſtand?

The ſixth ſeal or period produceth mighty changes and revolutions, which according to the prophetic ſtile are expreſſed by great commotions in the earth and in the heavens. The very ſame images, the very ſame expreſſions are employed by other prophets concerning the mutations and alterations of religions and governments: and why may they not therefore with equal fitneſs and propriety be applied to one of the greateſt and moſt memorable revolutions which ever were in the world, the ſubverſion of the Heathen religion, and eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian, which was begun by Conſtantine the Great, and was completed by his ſucceſſors? The ſeries of the prophecy requires this application, and all the phraſes and expreſſions will eaſily admit of ſuch a conſtruction. 'And I beheld when he had opened the ſixth ſeal,' ver. 12. 'and lo, there was σεισμος μεγας a great earthquake, *or rather* a great concuſſion;' for the word in the original comprehends the ſhaking of *heaven* as well as of the *earth*. The ſame phraſe is uſed by the prophet Haggai, ii. 6, 21, concerning the firſt coming of Chriſt, 'I will ſhake the heavens and the earth:' and this ſhaking, as the apoſtle ſaith, Heb. xii. 27. 'ſignifieth the removing of thoſe things which are ſhaken; and ſo the prophet Haggai himſelf explains it, 'I will ſhake the heavens and the earth, and I will overthrow the throne of kingdoms, and I will deſtroy the ſtrength of the kingdoms of the Heathen: And where was ever a greater concuſſion or removal, than when Chriſtianity was advanced to the throne of Paganiſm, and idolatry gave place to the true religion? Then follow the particular effects of this general concuſſion, ver. 12, 13, 14. 'And

the

the ſun became black as ſackcloth of hair, and the moon became as blood: And the ſtars of heaven fell unto the earth, even as a fig-tree caſteth her untimely figs when ſhe is ſhaken with a mighty wind: And the heavens departed as a ſcroll when it is rolled together; and every mountain and iſland were moved out of their places.' Iſaiah ſpeaketh much in the ſame manner concerning Babylon and Idumea; xiii. 10. xxxiv. 4. 'For the ſtars of heaven and the conſtellations thereof ſhall not give their light; the ſun ſhall be darkened in his going forth, and the moon ſhall not cauſe her light to ſhine: And all the hoſt of heaven ſhall be diſſolved, and the heavens ſhall be rolled together as a ſcroll; and all their hoſt ſhall fall down as the leaf falleth off from the vine, and as a falling fig from the fig-tree:' And Jeremiah concerning the land of Judah, iv. 23, 14. 'I beheld the earth, and lo, it was without form and void; and the heavens and they had no light; I beheld the mountains, and lo, they trembled, and all the hills moved lightly: And Ezekiel concerning Egypt, xxxii. 7. 'And when I ſhall put thee out, I will cover the heaven, and make the ſtars thereof dark; I will cover the ſun with a cloud, and the moon ſhall not give her light:' And Joel concerning Jeruſalem, ii. 10, 31. 'The earth ſhall quake before them, the heavens ſhall tremble, the ſun and the moon ſhall be dark, and the ſtars ſhall withdraw their ſhining: the ſun ſhall be turned into darkneſs, and the moon into blood, before the great and terrible day of the Lord come:' And our Saviour himſelf alſo concerning the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, Matt. xxiv. 29. 'The ſun ſhall be darkened, and the moon ſhall not give her light, and the ſtars ſhall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens ſhall be ſhaken.' Now it is certain that the fall of any of theſe cities and kingdoms was not of greater concern and conſequence to the world nor more deſerving to be deſcribed in ſuch pompous figures, than the fall of the Pagan Roman empire, when the great lights of the heathen world, *the ſun, moon, and ſtars*, the powers civil and eccleſiaſtical, were all eclipſed and obſcured, the heathen emperors and Cæſars were ſlain, the heathen prieſts and augurs were extirpated, the heathen officers and magiſtrates were removed, the heathen temples were demoliſhed, and their

revenues

revenues appropriated to better uſes. It is cuſtomary with the prophets, after they have deſcribed a thing in the moſt ſymbolical and figurative diction, to repreſent the ſame again in plainer language; and the ſame method is obſerved here, ver. 15, 16, 17. 'And the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every bond man, and every free man,' that is Maximian, Galerius, Maximine, Maxentius, Licinius, &c. with all their adherents and followers, were ſo routed and diſperſed, that they 'hid themſelves in the dens, and in the rocks of the mountains, and ſaid to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us, and hide us:' expreſſions uſed, as in other prophets, Iſ. ii. 19, 21. Hoſ. x. 8. Luke xxiii. 30. to denote the utmoſt terror and conſternation; 'Fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that ſitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb; for the great day of his wrath is come; and who ſhall be able to ſtand?' This is therefore a triumph of Chriſt over his heathen enemies, and a triumph after a ſevere perſecution; ſo that the time and all the circumſtances, as well as the ſeries and order of the prophecy agree perfectly with this interpretation. * Galerius, † Maximine, and ‡ Licinius made even a public confeſſion of their guilt, recalled their decrees and edicts againſt the Chriſtians, and acknowledged the juſt judgments of God and of Chriſt in their deſtruction.

CHAP. VII.

1 AND after theſe things, I ſaw four angels ſtanding on the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth, that the wind ſhould not blow on the earth, nor on the ſea, nor on any tree.

2 And I ſaw another angel aſcending from the eaſt, having the ſeal of the living God: and he cried with a loud voice to the four angels, to whom it was given to hurt the earth and the ſea,

3 Saying, Hurt not the earth, neither the ſea, nor the

* Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib. 8. Cap. 17. De vita Conſtant. Lib. 1. Cap. 56. Lanctitius ed Mort. Perſecut. Cap. 33, &c.

† Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib. 9. Cap. 9, 10, 11. De vita Conſtant. Lib. 1. Cap. 59. Lactant. ibid. Cap. 49.

‡ Euſeb. de vita Conſtant. Lib. 2. Cap. 18.

the trees, till we have ſealed the ſervants of our God in their foreheads.

4 And I heard the number of them which were ſealed: *and there were* ſealed an hundred *and* forty *and* four thouſand, of all the tribes of the children of Iſrael.

5 Of the tribe of Juda *were* ſealed twelve thouſand. Of the tribe of Reuben *were* ſealed twelve thouſand. Of the tribe of Gad *were* ſealed twelve thouſand.

6 Of the tribe of Aſer *were* ſealed twelve thouſand. Of the tribe of Nephthalim *were* ſealed twelve thouſand. Of the tribe of Manaſſes *were* ſealed twelve thouſand.

7 Of the tribe of Simeon *were* ſealed twelve thouſand. Of the tribe of Levi *were* ſealed twelve thouſand. Of the tribe of Iſachar *were* ſealed twelve thouſand.

8 Of the tribe of Zabulon were ſealed twelve thouſand. Of the tribe of Joſeph *were* ſealed twelve thouſand. Of the tribe of Benjamin *were* ſealed twelve thouſand.

9 After this I beheld, and lo, a great multitude which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, ſtood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands;

10 And cried with a loud voice, Saying, Salvation to our God which ſitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb.

11 And all the angels ſtood round about the throne, and *about* the elders, and the four beaſts, and fell before the throne on their faces, and worſhipped God,

12 Saying, Amen: Bleſſing and glory, and wiſdom, and thankſgiving, and honour, and power, and might *be* unto our God for ever and ever. Amen.

13 And one of the elders anſwered, ſaying unto me, What are theſe which are arrayed in white robes? and whence came they?

14 And I ſaid unto him, Sir, thou knoweſt. And he ſaid to me, Theſe are they which came out of great tribulation, and have waſhed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.

15 Therefore are they before the throne of God, and ſerve him day and night in his temple: and he that ſitteth on the throne ſhall dwell among them.

16 They ſhall hunger no more, neither thirſt any more, neither ſhall the ſun light

light on them, nor any heat.
17 For the Lamb which is in the midſt of the throne, ſhall feed them, and ſhall lead them unto living fountains of waters: and God ſhall wipe away all tears from their eyes.

What follows in this chapter is ſtill a continuation of the ſixth ſeal, for the ſeventh ſeal is not opened till the beginning of the next chapter. It is a deſcription of the ſtate of the church in Conſtantine's time, of the peace and protection that it ſhould enjoy under the civil powers, and of the great acceſſion that ſhould be made to it both of Jews and Gentiles. 'Four angels, ver. 1, 2, 3. are ordered by another angel to reſtrain 'the four winds' from blowing with violence on any part of the world; to ſhew that theſe were halcyon days, wherein the former wars and perſecutions ſhould ceaſe, and peace and tranquillity be reſtored for a ſeaſon. Euſebius is very copious upon this ſubject in ſeveral parts of his writings; and hath * applied the paſſage of the Pſalmiſt in the verſion of the Seventy, Pſal. xlvi. 8, 9, 'Come hither and behold the works of the Lord, what wonders he hath wrought in the earth: He maketh wars to ceaſe unto the end of the earth, he breaketh the bow, and cutteth the ſpear aſunder, he burneth the chariot in the fire;' which things, ſaith he, being manifeſtly fulfilled in our times, we rejoice over them. Lactantius alſo † ſaith in the ſame triumphant ſtrain, "tranquillity being reſtored throughout the world, the church which was lately ruined riſeth again. Now after the violent agitations of ſo great a tempeſt, a calm air and the deſired light become reſplendent. Now God hath relieved the afflicted. Now he hath wiped away the tears of the ſorrowful." Theſe are teſtimonies of contemporary writers; ‡ medals of Conſtantine are ſtill preſerved with the head of this emperor on one ſide, and this inſcription CONSTANTINUS AUG, and on the reverſe BEATA TRANQUILLITAS

* Euſeb. Eccleſ Hiſt. Lib. 10. Cap. 1. ὡ' οἷς εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐναργῶν πεπληρωμένοις χαίροντες—Quæ cum omnia noſtris temporibus manifeſte completa ſint læti deinceps et grautlabundi—

† Reſtituta per orbem tranquillitate, profligata nuper eccleſia rurſam exſurgit—Nunc poſt tantae tempeſtatis violentos turbines placidus aer et optata lux refulſit. Nunc Deus afflictos ſublevavit. Nunc mœrentium lacrymas deterſit. Lactantius de Mort. Perſecut Cap. 1.

‡ See Daubus p. 311.

QUILLITAS, *Bleſſed Tranquillity.* During this time of tranquillity 'the ſervants of God were to be ſealed in their foreheads.' It is an expreſſion in alluſion to the ancient cuſtom of marking ſervants in their foreheads to diſtinguiſh what they were, and to whom they belonged. Now among Chriſtians baptiſm being the ſeal of the [illegible] between God and man, is therefore by ancient writers * often called the *ſeal*, the *ſign*, the *mark*, and *character* of the Lord: and it was the † practice in early times, as it is at preſent to make the ſign of the croſs upon the foreheads of the parties baptized. The ſame ſign of the croſs was alſo made at confirmation; and upon many other occaſions the Chriſtians ſigned themſelves with the ſign of the croſs in their foreheads, as a token that they were not aſhamed of a crucified maſter, that on the contrary they gloried in the croſs of Chriſt, and triumphed in that ſymbol and repreſentation of it. The *ſealing* therefore 'of the ſervants of God in their foreheads, at this juncture can imply no leſs, than that many converts ſhould be baptized, and thoſe, who before, in times of perſecution, had been compelled to worſhip God in private, ſhould now make a free, open and public profeſſion of their religion; and that ſuch an acceſſion was made to the church, every one knoweth who knoweth any thing of the hiſtory of this time.

As the church of Chriſt was firſt formed out of the Jewiſh church and nation, ſo here, ver. 4—8. the ſpiritual Iſrael is firſt mentioned; and the number of the thouſands of Iſrael is that of the twelve patriarchs multiplied by the twelve apoſtles, which we ſhall find to be a ſacred number throughout the Revelation. But the twelve tribes are not enumerated here in the ſame method and order, as they are in other places of holy ſcriptures. Judah hath the firſt rank and precedence, becauſe from him deſcended the Meſſiah. Dan is entirely omitted, and Ephraim is not mentioned, becauſe they were the principal promoters of idolatry, and therefore Levi is ſubſtituted in the room of the one, and Joſeph is mentioned inſtead of the other. The children too of the bond-woman and of the free-woman

* See Mede, p. 511. Bingham's Antiquities. B. 11. Ch. 1. Sect. 6, et 7.

† See Cave's Primitive Chriſtianity, Part. 1. Ch. 16. Bingham, ibid. Ch. 9. Sect. 4, &c.

free-woman are confounded together, there being, Gal. iii. 28. 'in Chriſt Jeſus neither bond nor free.' Beſides ſome of all the tribes of Iſrael, there was 'an innumerable multitude of all nations and tongues, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands,' ver. 9, 10. who received and embraced the goſpel: and as Sulpicius Severus * ſays, it is wonderful how much the Chriſtian religion prevailed at that time. The hiſtorians, who have written of this reign, † relate how even the moſt remote and barbarous nations were converted to the faith, Jews as well as Gentiles. One hiſtorian in particular ‡ affirms, that at the time when Conſtantine took poſſeſſion of Rome after the death of Maxentius, there were baptized more than twelve thouſand Jews and Heathens, beſides women and children. The angels alſo, ver. 11, 12. join in the celebration of God upon this occaſion; for if 'there is joy,' Luke xv. 10. in the preſence of the angels of God over one ſinner that repenteth,' much more may thoſe heavenly ſpirits rejoice at the converſion of whole countries and nations. Then one of the elders, ver. 13—17. explains to St John ſome particulars relating to this innumerable multitude of all nations. They have 'palms in their hands,' as tokens of their victory and triumph over tribulation and perſecution. They are 'arrayed in white robes,' or emblems of their ſanctity and juſtification through the merits and death of Chriſt. They are, like the children of Iſrael, arrived at their Canaan or land of reſt, and they ſhall no more ſuffer *hunger*, or *thirſt*, or *heat*, as they did in the wilderneſs. They are now happily freed from all their former troubles and moleſtations; and their heathen adverſaries ſhall no more prevail againſt them. This period we may ſuppoſe to have continued with ſome little interruption from the reign of Conſtantine the Great to the death of Theodoſius the Great, about 70 years.

CHAP.

* Hoc temporum tractu mirum eſt quantum invalurit religio Chriſtiana Sulpic. Sever. Sacr. Hiſt. Lib. 2. p. 100. Edit. Elzevir. 1656.

† Socrates Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. 1. Cap. 18, 19, 20. Zozomen. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. 2. Cap. 5—8, &c. &c.

‡ Hoc tempore Romae baptizati ſunt e Judaeis et Idololatris ultra duodecim hominum millia, praeter mulieris et pueros. Abul Pharajii Hiſt. Dyn. 7. p. 85. Verſ. Pocockii Vide etiam Epiphanii Haereſ. 30. Sect. 4, &c. p. 127. Vol. 1. Edit. Petavii.

CHAP. VIII.

1 AND when he had opened the ſeventh ſeal, there was ſilence in heaven about the ſpace of half an hour.

2 And I ſaw the ſeven angels which ſtood before God; and to them were given ſeven trumpets.

3 And another angel came and ſtood at the altar, having a golden cenſer; and there was given him much incenſe, that he ſhould offer *it* with the prayers of all ſaints upon the golden altar which was before the throne.

4 And the ſmoke of the incenſe, *which came* with the prayers of the ſaints, aſcended up before God, out of the angel's hand.

5 And the angel took the cenſer, and filled it with fire of the altar, and caſt it into the earth: and there were voices, and thundrings, and lightnings, and an earthquake.

6 And the ſeven angels which had the ſeven trumpets, prepared themſelves to ſound.

The ſeventh ſeal or period is of much longer duration, and comprehends many more events than any of the former ſeals. It comprehends indeed ſeven periods diſtinguiſhed by the ſounding of ſeven trumpets. At the opening of this ſeal, ver. 1. 'there was ſilence in heaven about the ſpace of half an hour.' This 'ſilence of half an hour' is a ſign that the peace of the church would continue but for a ſhort ſeaſon. It is an interval and pauſe as it were between the foregoing and the ſucceeding viſions. It is a mark of ſolemnity, to procure attention, and to prepare the mind for great and ſignal events; and not without an alluſion to a ceremony among the Jews. Philo * informs us, the incenſe uſed to be offered before the morning, and after the evening ſacrifice: and while the ſacrifices were made, 2 Chron. xxix. 25—28. the voices and inſtruments, and trumpets ſounded; while the prieſt went into the temple to burn incenſe, Luke i. 10. all were ſilent, and the people prayed without to themſelves. Now this was the morning of the church, and there-

*—πρὸ τε τῆς ἑωθινῆς θυσίας καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἑσπερινὴν—ante matutinum et poſt veſpertinum ſacrificium—Philo de Victimis, p. 836. Edit. Paris. 1640.

fore the ſilence precedes the ſounding of the trumpets. It was neceſſary before the trumpets could be ſounded, that they ſhould be *given*, ver. 2. to the ſeven archangels, who were to execute the will of God, and to ſound the trumpets each in his ſeaſon. At the ſame time, ver. 3, 4, 5. ' another angel, like the prieſt, ' having a golden cenſer, offereth incenſe ' with the prayers of all ſaints,' and then filleth the cenſer ' with fire of the altar, and caſteth it into the earth; as in Ezekiel, x. 2. ' coals of fire' are taken ' from between the cherubims,' and ſcattered over Jeruſalem, to denote the judgments of God to be executed upon that city. Whereupon immediately enſue ' voices, and thundrings, and lightnings, and an earthquake,' the uſual prophetic ſigns and preludes of great calamities and commotions upon earth. Then the angels, ver. 6. ' prepare themſelves to ſound:' and as the *ſeals* foretold the ſtate and condition of the Roman empire before and till it became Chriſtian, ſo the *trumpets* foreſhew the fate and condition of it afterwards. ' The ſound of the trumpet,' as Jeremiah, iv. 19. ſays, and as every one underſtands it, is ' the alarm of war: and the ſounding of theſe trumpets is deſigned to rouſe and excite the nations againſt the Roman empire, called ' the third part of the world,' as perhaps including the third part of the world, and being ſeated principally in Europe, the third part of the world at that time.

7 The firſt angel ſounded, and there followed hail and fire mingled with blood, and they were caſt upon the earth: and the third part of trees was burnt up, and all green graſs was burnt up.

At the ſounding of the firſt trumpet, ver. 7. the barbarous nations, like a ſtorm of ' hail and fire mingled with blood,' invade the Roman territories; and deſtroy ' the third part of trees,' that is the trees of ' the third part of the earth' and ' the green graſs,' that is both old and young, high and low, rich and poor together. Theodoſius the Great died in the year 395; and no ſooner was

* Socratis Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib. 6. Cap. 1. Sozomen. Lib. 8. Cap. 1. Zoſimi Hiſt. Lib. 5 et 6. Pauli Oroſii Hiſt. Lib. 7. Cap. 37, &c. Car. Sigonii Hiſt. de Occidentali imperio, Lib. 10.

was he dead, than the * Huns, Goths, and other barbarians, like hail for multitude, and breathing fire and ſlaughter, broke in upon the beſt provinces of the empire both in the eaſt and weſt, with greater ſucceſs than they had ever done before. But by this trumpet, I conceive, were principally intended the irruptions and depredations of the Goths † under the conduct of the famous Alaric, who began his incurſions in the ſame year 395, firſt ravaged Greece, then waſted Italy, beſieged Rome, and was bought off at an exorbitant price, beſieged it again in the year 410, took and plundered the city, and ſet fire to it in ſeveral places. Philoſtorgius, who lived and wrote of theſe times, ‡ ſaith, that "the ſword of the barbarians deſtroyed the greateſt multitude of men; and among other calamities dry heats with flaſhes of flame and whirlwinds of fire occaſioned various and intolerable terrors; yea, and hail greater than could be held in a man's hand fell down in ſeveral places, weighing as much a eight pounds." Well therefore might the prophet compare theſe incurſions of the barbarians to 'hail and fire mingled with blood.' Claudian in like manner compares them ‖ to a ſtorm of *hail* in his poem on this very war. Jerome alſo § ſaith of ſome of theſe barbarians, "that they came on unexpectedly every where, and marching quicker than report, ſpared not religion, nor dignities, nor age, nor had com-

 paſſion

* Z ſim. Oroſ. Sigon, ibid. &c. Philoſtorgius, Lib. 11. et 12.

† Βαρβαρικη μεν γαρ το της φθορας πληθος εργαζετο μαχαιρα.—ανυχμιο φλογωδεις, πρηστηρες τε ειπν οις εμβαλλομενοι, ποικιλον τι το δεινον ειποιεν και αφορητον· και δη και χαλαζα μειζων η κατα χειρμαδα πολλαχα γης καπεφερετο. αχρι γαρ και οκτω των λεγομενων λιτρων ιλλυσα βαρος αφθη κατασκηψασα. Nam et barbaricus enſis maximam hominum multitudinem delevit;—ſiccitates flammeæ, et ignis turbines cælitus immiſſi, multiplicem atque intolerabilem intulerunt calamitatem. Sed et grando lapide manum implente major, multis in locis decidit. Deprehenſa enim eſt alicubi, quæ octo librarum, ut vocant, pondus æquaret. Philoſtorgii. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. 11. Cap. 7.

‡ Claudian. de Bello Getico. ver. 173.

Ex illo, quocunque vagos impegit Erinnys,
Grandinis aut morbi retu ſeu devia rerum.
Præcipites, per clauſa, ruunt.

Where Mr Daubuz would read *nimbi* inſtead of *morbi*.

‖ Inſperati ubique aberant, et famam celeritate vincentes, non religioni, non dignitatibus, non ætati parcebant, non vagientis miſerabuntur infantiæ. Cogebantur mori, qui nondum vivere cœperant. Hieron. Epiſt 84. de morte Fabiolæ. Col. 661. Tom. 4. Par. 2. Edit. Benedict.

paſſion on crying infants; thoſe were compelled to die, who had not yet begun to live." So truly did they deſtroy the *trees* and the *green graſs* together

8 And the ſecond angel ſounded, and as it were a great mountain burning with fire was caſt into the ſea; and the third part of the ſea became blood:

9 And the third part of the creatures which were in the ſea, and had life, died; and the third part of the ſhips were deſtroyed.

At the ſounding of the ſecond trumpet, ver. 8, 9. 'as it were a great mountain burning with fire, that is a great warlike nation or hero, (for in the * ſtile of poetry, which is near akin to the ſtile of prophecy, heroes are compared to mountains;) 'caſt into the ſea, turneth the third part of it into blood, and deſtroyeth the fiſhes and the ſhips therein;' that is, falling on the Roman empire, maketh a ſea of blood, with horrible deſtruction of the cities and inhabitants: for *waters*, as the angel afterwards xvii. 15. explains them to St John, 'are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues,' and 'the third part' is all along the Roman empire; for it poſſeſſed in Aſia and Africa, as much as it wanted in Europe to make up the third part of the world, and the principal part was in Europe, the third part of the world at that time. The next great ravagers after Alaric and his Goths were Attila and his Huns, who for the ſpace of fourteen years, as † Sigonius ſays, ſhook the eaſt and weſt with the moſt cruel fear, and deformed the provinces of each empire with all kind of plundering, ſlaughter, and burning. They firſt waſted Thrace, Macedon and Greece, putting all to fire and ſword, and compelled the eaſtern emperor, Theodoſius the ſecond, to purchaſe a ſhameful peace,

* So Virgil of his hero, Æn. XII. 701.
Quantus Athos, aut quantus Eryx, aut ipſe coruſcis
Cum fremit illicibus quantus, gaudetque nivali
Vertice ſe attolens patar Appenninus ad auras.

† Sigonius de Occidentali Imperio, Lib. 13. Hunnica jam hinc bella ſcribere ordiemur, quae poſt per quatuor decim annos ſaevi ſſima orientem, occidentem que formidine concuſſerunt, atque utriuſque imperii provincias omni direptione, ſtrage, atque incendio deformarunt.

‡ Sigonius ibid. Jornandes de rebus Get. &c. &c.

peace. Then Attila turned his arms againſt the weſtern emperor, Valentinian the third; entered Gaul with ſeven hundred thouſand men, and not content with taking and ſpoiling, ſet moſt of the cities on fire. But at length being there vigorouſly oppoſed, he fell upon Italy, took and deſtroyed Aquileia with ſeveral other cities, ſlaying the inhabitants, and laying the buildings in aſhes, and * filled all places between the Alps and Appenine with flight, depopulation, ſlaughter, ſervitude, burning, and deſperation. He was preparing to march to Rome, but was diverted from his purpoſe by a ſolemn embaſſy from the emperor, and the promiſe of an annual tribute; and ſo concluding a truce, retired out of Italy, and paſſed into his own dominions beyond the Danube. Such a man might properly be compared to 'a great mountain burning with fire,' who really was, as he called himſelf, † *the ſcourge of God, and the terror of men,* and boaſted that he was ſent into the world by God for this purpoſe, that as the executioner of his juſt anger he might fill the earth with all kinds of evils, and he bounded his cruelty and paſſion by nothing leſs than blood and burning.

10 And the third angel ſounded, and there fell a great ſtar from heaven burning as it were a lamp, and it fell upon the third part of the rivers, and upon the fountains of waters:

11 And the name of the ſtar is called Wormwood: and the third part of the waters became wormwood: and many men died of the waters, becauſe they were made bitter.

At the ſounding of the third trumpet, ver. 10, 11. a great prince appears like 'a ſtar ſhooting from heaven to earth;' a ſimilitude not ‡ unuſual in poetry. His coming

* Jam omnia, quæ intra Appenninum et Alpes erant, fuga, populatione, caede, ſervitute, incendio, et deſperatione repleta erant. Sigon. ibid. Ann. 452.

† Qui ſe Flagellum Dei, et Terrorem hominum apellabat, et ad id in mundum a Deo miſſum jactabat, ut tanquam juſtae illius vindex irae terras omni malorum genere permiſceret et crudelitatem ac libidinem ſuam non niſi ſanguine et incendio termina-bat. Sigon. ibid.

† Homer: Illiad. IV 75.

Οιον δ' αστερα ηκε Κρονε παις αγκυλομητεω,
Η ναυτῆσι τερας, κι στρατῳ ευρει λαων.
Καμπτον τε δι τι φαεινοι απο σπινθηρες ιενται,

ming therefore is ſudden and unexpected, and his ſtay but ſhort. 'The name of the ſtar is called Wormwood,' and he infects 'the third part of the rivers and fountains with the bitterneſs of wormwood;' that is, he is a bitter enemy, and proveth the author of grievous calamities to the Roman empire. The *rivers* and *fountains* have a near connection with the *ſea*: and it was within two years after Attila's retreat from Italy, that Valentinian was murdered, and Maximus who had cauſed him to be murdered reigned in his ſtead, * Genſeric the king of the Vandals ſettled in Africa was ſolicited by Eudoxia the widow of the deceaſed emperor, to come and revenge his death. Genſeric accordingly embarked with three hundred thouſand Vandals and Moors, and arrived upon the Roman coaſt in June 455, the emperor and people not expecting nor thinking of any ſuch enemy. He landed his men, and marched directly towards Rome; whereupon the inhabitants flying into the woods and mountains, the city fell an eaſy prey into his hands. He abandoned it to the cruelty and avarice of his ſoldiers, who plundered it for fourteen days together, not only ſpoiling the private houſes and palaces, but ſtripping the public buildings, and even the churches of their riches and ornaments. He then ſet ſail again for Africa, carrying away with him immenſe wealth and an innumerable multitude of captives, together with the empreſs Eudoxia and her two daughters; and left the ſtate ſo weakened, that in a little time it was utterly ſubverted. Some critics underſtand *rivers* and *fountains* with relation to doctrines; and in this ſenſe the application is ſtill very proper to Genſeric, who was a moſt bigotted Arian, and during his whole reign moſt cruelly perſecuted the orthodox Chriſtians. Victor Uticenſis, or Vitenſis as he is more uſually called, who * wrote in three books the hiſtory of this perſecution by the Vandals, ſpeaking of St Auſtin † hath uſed this very ſame

* Evagrii Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. 2. Cap. 7. Zonarae Annal Lib. 13. in fine. Sigonius de imperio Occidentali Lib. 14. Ann. 455, &c. &c.

† Voſſius de Hiſt. Latinis Lib. 2. Cap. 18. Hofmanni Lex.

‡ Tunc illud eloquentiae, quod ubertim per omnes campos eccleſiae decurrebat, ipſo metu ſicatum eſt flumen; atque dulcedo ſuavitatis dulcius propinata, *in amaritudinem abſinthii* verſa eſt, victor Vit de perſecut. Vandal. Lib. 1. n. 3. Vide etiam Vitam Auguſtini Lib. 8. Cap. 11. Sect. 2. Edit. Benedict.

ſame metaphor, of the river of his eloquence being dried up, and his ſweetneſs turned into *the bitterneſs of wormwood*.

12 And the fourth angel ſounded, and the third part of the ſun was ſmitten, and the third part of the moon, and the third part of the ſtars; ſo as the third part of them was darkened, and the day ſhone not for a third part of it, and the night likewiſe.

At the ſounding of the fourth trumpet, ver. 12. 'the third part of the ſun, moon, and ſtars,' that is, the great lights of the Roman empire, are eclipſed and *darkened*, and remain in darkneſs for ſome time. Genſeric left the weſtern empire in a weak and deſperate condition. It ſtruggled hard, and gaſped as it were for breath, through * eight ſhort and turbulent reigns, for the ſpace of twenty years, and at length expired in the year 476, under Momyllus, or Auguſtulus as he was named in deriſion, being a diminutive Auguſtus. This change was effected by Odoacer king of the Heruli, who coming to Rome, with an army of barbarians, ſtripped Momyllus of the imperial robes, put an end to the very name of the weſtern empire, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king of Italy. His kingdom indeed was of no long duration, for after a reign of ſixteen years he was overcome and ſlain † in the year 493 by Theodoric king of the Oſtrogoths, who founded the kingdom of the Oſtrogoths in Italy, which continued about ſixty years under his ſucceſſors. Thus was the Roman *ſun* extinguiſhed in the weſtern emperor; but the other leſſer luminaries, the *moon* and *ſtars*, ſtill ſubſiſted; for Rome was ſtill allowed to have her ſenate, and conſuls, and other ſubordinate magiſtrates as before. Odoacer ‡ at firſt ſuppreſſed them, but after two or three years reſtored them again. Theodoric || changed none of the Roman inſtitutes; he retained

* Sigonius de Occidentali Imperio. Lib. 14. et 15. in initio.

† Sigonius ibid. Lib. 15. in fine Procop. de Bell Goth Lib. 1. Cap. 1.

‡ Sigonius ibid. Lib 15. Ann. 476. et 479.

|| Jam vero nullum Romanum inſtitutum mutavit: ſiquidem et, ſenatum, et conſules, patricios,—caeteroſque qui fuerant in imperio, magiſtratus retinuit eoſque Romanis hominibus tantum mandavit. Sigonius ibid. Lib. 16. Ann. 494.

tained the ſenate, and conſuls, and patricians, and all the ancient magiſtrates, and committed thoſe offices only to Romans. Theſe lights, we may ſuppoſe, ſhone more faintly under barbarian kings than under Roman emperors; but they were not totally ſuppreſſed and extinguiſhed, till after the kingdom of the Oſtrogoths was deſtroyed by the emperor of the eaſt's lieutenants, and Italy was made a province of the eaſtern empire. Longinus was * ſent then in the year 556 by the emperor Juſtin II. to govern Italy with abſolute authority and he changed the whole form of the government, aboliſhed the ſenate, and conſuls, and all the former magiſtrates in Rome, and Italy, and in every city of note conſtituted a new governor with the title of Duke. He himſelf preſided over all; and reſiding at Ravenna, and not at Rome, he was called the Exarch of Ravenna, as were alſo his ſucceſſors in the ſame office. Rome was degraded to the ſame level with other places, and from being the queen of cities and empreſs of the world was reduced to a poor Dukedom, and made tributary to Ravenna which ſhe had uſed to govern.

13 And I beheld, and heard an angel flying through the midſt of heaven, ſaying with a loud voice, Woe, woe, woe to the inhabiters of the earth, by reaſon of the other voices of the trumpet of the three angels which are yet to ſound.

Notice is then proclaimed by an angel, ver 13. that the three other trumpets ſound to ſtill greater and more terrible plagues, and are therefore diſtinguiſhed from the former by the name of *woes*. The deſign of this meſſenger is to raiſe our attention to the following trumpets; and the following we ſhall find to be more ſtrongly marked than the foregoing. The foregoing relate chiefly to the downfal of the weſtern empire; the two following relate chiefly to the downfal of the eaſtern empire. The foregoing are deſcribed more ſuccinctly, and contain a leſs compaſs of time; the following are ſet forth with more particular circumſtances, and are of longer duration as well as of larger deſcription.

CHAP.

* Sigonii Hiſt. de Regno Italiae. Lib. 1. Blondi Decad. prima Lib. 8

CHAP. IX.

1 AND the fifth angel ſounded, and I ſaw a ſtar fall from heaven unto the earth: and to him was given the key of the bottomleſs pit.

2 And he opened the bottomleſs pit, and there aroſe a ſmoke out of the pit, as the ſmoke of a great furnace: and the ſun and the air were darkened by reaſon of the ſmoke of the pit.

3 And there came out of the ſmoke locuſts upon the earth; and unto them was given power, as the ſcorpions of the earth have power.

4 And it was commanded them that they ſhould not hurt the graſs of the earth, neither any green thing, neither any tree; but only thoſe men which have not the ſeal of God on their foreheads.

5 And to them it was given that they ſhould not kill them, but that they ſhould be tormented five months: and their torment *was* as the torment of a ſcorpion, when he ſtriketh a man.

6 And in thoſe days ſhall men ſeek death, and ſhall not find it; and ſhall deſire to die, and death ſhall flee from them.

7 And the ſhapes of the locuſts *were* like unto horſes prepared unto battle; and on their heads *were* as it were crowns like gold, and their faces *were* as the faces of men.

8 And they had hair as the hair of women, and their teeth were as the *teeth* of lions.

9 And they had breaſt-plates, as it were breaſt-plates of iron; and the ſound of their wings *was* as the ſound of chariots of many horſes running to battle.

10 And they had tails like unto ſcorpions, and there were ſtings in their tails: and there power was to hurt men five months.

11 and they had a king over them, *which is* the angel of the bottomleſs pit, whoſe name in the Hebrew tongue *is* Abaddon, but in the Greek tongue hath *his* name Apollyon.

12 One woe is paſt, *and* behold there come two woes more hereafter.

At the ſounding of the fifth trumpet, ver. 1, 2, 3. 'a ſtar falling from heaven,' meaning the wicked impoſtor Mohammed,

Mohammed, 'opened the bottomleſs pit, and there aroſe a ſmoke out of the pit, and the ſun and the air were darkened' by it; that is, a falſe religion was ſet up, which filled the world with darkneſs and error; and ſwarms of Saracen or Arabian *locuſts* overſpread the earth. A falſe prophet is very fitly typified by a blazing *ſtar* or meteor. The Arabians likewiſe are properly compared to *locuſts*, not only becauſe numerous armies frequently are ſo, but alſo becauſe ſwarms of locuſts often ariſe from Arabia: and alſo becauſe in the plagues of Egypt, to which conſtant alluſion is made in theſe trumpets, 'the locuſts,' Exod. x. 13. are 'brought by an eaſt-wind,' that is, from Arabia, which lay eaſtward of Egypt; and alſo becauſe in the book of Judges vii. 12. the people of Arabia are compared to 'locuſts or graſshoppers for multitude, 'for in the original the word for both is the ſame. As the natural locuſts * are bred in pits and holes of the earth, ſo theſe myſtical locuſts are truly *infernal*, and proceed with the ſmoke 'from the bottomleſs pit.' It is too a remarkable coincidence, that at this time 'the ſun and the air were *really* darkened.' For we learn from an † eminent Arabian hiſtorian, that "in the ſeventeenth year of Heraclius half the body of the ſun was eclipſed, and this defect continued from the former Tiſrin to Haziran, (that is from October to June) ſo that only a little of its light appeared." The ſeventeenth year of Heraclius † coincides with the year of Chriſt 626, and with the 5th year of the Hegira; and at this time Mohammed was training and exerciſing his followers in depredations at home, to fit and prepare them for greater conqueſts abroad.

'It was commanded them, ver. 4. that they ſhould not hurt the graſs of the earth, neither any green thing, neither any tree;' which demonſtrates that thoſe were not natural, but ſymbolical locuſts. The like injunctions were given to the Arabian officers and ſoldiers. When Yezid

* Vide Geſner de Inſect. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 11. Cap. 29. Sect. 35. Edit. Harduin

† Anno Heraclii decimo ſeptimo dimidium corporis ſolaris lumine defecit, manſitque ejus deliquium a Tiſrin priori ad Haziran, adeo ſit non appareret niſi parum quid de lumine ipſius. Abul-Pharajii. Hiſt. Dyn. 8. p. 99. Verſ. Pocockii.

‡ Blair's Chron. Tab. No 33. Abul-Pharajii Dyn. 9. p. 102. Elmacini Hiſt. Saracen, Lib. 2. p. 6.

Yezid was marching with the army to invade Syria, Abubeker charged him * with this among other orders; "Deſtroy no palm-tree, nor burn any fields of corn; cut down no fruit-trees, nor do any miſchief to cattle, only ſuch as you kill to eat." Their commiſſion is to 'hurt only thoſe men who have not the ſeal of God in their foreheads; that is, thoſe who are not the true ſervants of God, but are corrupt and idolatrous Chriſtians. Now from hiſtory it appears evidently, that in thoſe countries of Aſia, Africa, and Europe, where the Saracens extended their conqueſts, the Chriſtians were generally guilty of idolatry in the worſhipping of ſaints, if not of images; and it was the pretence of Mohammed and his followers to chaſtiſe them for it, and to re-eſtabliſh the unity of the Godhead. The parts which remained the freeſt from the general infection were Savoy, Piedmont, and the ſouthern parts of France, which were afterwards the nurſeries and habitations of the Waldenſes and Albigenſes; and it is vey memorable, that † when the Saracens approached theſe parts, they were defeated with great ſlaughter by the famous Charles Martel in ſeveral engagements.

As they were to hurt only the corrupt and idolatrous Chriſtians, ſo theſe, ver. 5, 6. they were not to *kill* but only to *torment*, and ſhould bring ſuch calamities upon the earth, as ſhould make men weary of their lives. Not that it could be ſuppoſed that the Saracens would not *kill* many thouſands in their incurſions. On the contrary their angel, ver. 11. hath the name of *the deſtroyer*. They might *kill* them as individuals, but ſtill they ſhould not *kill* them as a political body, as a ſtate or empire. They might greatly harraſs and *torment* both the Greek and the Latin churches, but they ſhould not utterly extirpate the one or the other. They beſieged Conſtantinople, and ‡ even plundered Rome; but they could not make themſelves maſters of either of thoſe capital cities. The Greek empire ſuffered moſt from them, as it lay neareſt to them. They diſmembered it of Syria and Egypt, and ſome other

* Ockley's Hiſt. of the Saracens. Vol. 1. p. 25.

† Petavii Rationar Temp. Part 1. Lib. 8. Cap. 5. Mezeray Abrege Chronol. A. D. 732, &c.

‡ Sigonii Hiſt. de Regno Italiæ Lib. 5. Ann. 846.

ther of its beſt and richeſt provinces; but they were never able to ſubdue and conquer the whole. As often as they beſieged Conſtantinople,* they were repulſed and defeated. They attempted it in the reign of Conſtantine Pogonatus A. D. 672; but their men and ſhips were miſerably deſtroyed by the ſea-fire invented by Callinicus, and after ſeven years fruitleſs pains they were compelled to raiſe the ſiege, and to conclude a peace. They attempted it again † in the reign of Leo Iſauricus A. D. 718: but they were forced to deſiſt by famine, and peſtilence, and loſſes of different kinds. In this attempt they exceeded their commiſſion, and therefore they were not crowned with their uſual ſucceſs. The taking of this city, and the putting an end to this empire, was a work reſerved for another power, as we ſhall ſee under the next trumpet.

In the following verſes, 7, 8, 9, 10. the nature and qualities of theſe locuſts are deſcribed, partly in alluſion to the properties of natural locuſts and the deſcription given of them by the prophet Joel, and partly in alluſion to the habits and manners of the Arabians, to ſhew that not real but figurative locuſts were here intended. The firſt quality mentioned is their being 'like unto horſes prepared unto battle; which is copied from Joel, ii. 4. 'The appearance of them is as the appearances of horſes, and as horſemen, ſo ſhall they run.' Many authors have ‡ obſerved that the head of a locuſt reſembles that of an horſe. The Italians therefore call them *cavalette*, as it were little horſes. The Arabians too have in all ages been famous for their horſes and horſemanſhip. Their ſtrength is well known to conſiſt chiefly in their cavalry.

Another diſtinguiſhing mark and character is their having 'on their heads as is were crowns like gold;' which is

* Theoph. Cedren. ad an. Conſt. 5. Zonarae Annales Lib. 14. Cap. 20, &c. Petavii Rationar. Temp. Part. 1. Lib. 8. Cap. 1. Blair's Chronol. Tab. No. 34. Part 2d.

† Sigonii Hiſt. de Regno Italiae Lib. 3. Anno 718. Petav. ibid. Cap. 5.

‡ Vide Albertum, Aldrovandum, Theodoretum, &c. apud. Bochart. Hieroz. Part Poſt. Lib. 4. Cap. 5.—caput aut faciem equinae non abſimilem. A qua locuſtae ab italis vocantur *cavalette*. Col. 474

is an alluſion to the head-dreſs of the Arabians, * who have conſtantly worn turbants or mitres, and boaſt of having thoſe ornaments for their common attire, which are crowns and diadems with other people. The *crowns* alſo ſignify the kingdoms, and dominions which they ſhould acquire. For, as Mr Mede † excellently obſerves, "No nation had ever ſo wide a command, nor ever were ſo many kingdoms, ſo many regions ſubjugated in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time. It ſounds incredible, yet moſt true it is; that in the ſpace of eighty or not many more years, they ſubdued and acquired to the diabolical kingdom of Mohammed Paleſtine, Syria, both Armenias, almoſt all Aſia Minor, Perſia, India, Egypt, Numidia, all Barbary even to the river Niger, Portugal, Spain. Neither did their fortune or ambition ſtop here, till they had added alſo a great part of Italy, as far as to the gates of Rome; moreover Sicily, Candia, Cyprus, and the other iſlands of the Mediterranean ſea. Good God! how great a tract of land! how many *crowns* were here? Whence alſo it is worthy of obſervation, that mention is not made here, as in other trumpets, *of the third part*: foraſmuch as this plague fell no leſs without the bounds of the Roman empire than within it, and extended itſelf even to the remoteſt Indies."

They had alſo 'faces as the faces of men, and hair as the hair of women:' and the Arabians wore their beards, or at leaſt muſtachoes, as men; while the hair of their

* Arabes mitrati degunt, Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 6. Cap. 28. Sect. 32. Edit. Harduin. Hic mitra velatus Arab. Claudian de Laud. Stil. I. 156. Pocockii Not. in Carm. Tograi Arab. pag. ult.

† Nulli unquam genti tam late regnatum fuit, neque tam brevi temporis ſpatio unquam tot regna, tot regiones, ſub jugum miſſa. Incredibili dictu, veriſſimum tamen eſt; Octoginta, aut non multo plurium, annorum ſpatio ſubjugarunt illi et diabolico regno Muhammedis acquiſiverunt Palaeſtinam, Syriam, Armeniam utramque, totam ferme Aſiam minorem, Perſiam, Indiam Ægyptum, Numidiam, Barbariam totam ad Nigrum uſque fluvium, Luſitaniam, Hiſpaniam. Neque hic ſtetit illorum fortuna, aut ambitio; donec et Italiae magnam quoque partem adjecerint, ad portas uſque urbis Romae; quinetiam Siciliam, Candiam, Cyprum, et reliquas maris Mediterranei inſulas. Deus bone, quantus hic terrarum tractus! quot hic *coronae!* Unde dignum quoque obſervatu eſt, non hic, ut in caeteris tubis, *trientis* mentionem fieri: ſiquidem non minus extra imperii Romani fines quam intra ipſum caderot haec clades, ad extremos uſque indos ſel porrectura. Mede p. 468.

heads was flowing or plaited like that of women; as * Pliny and other ancient authors teſtify. Another property copied from Joel is their having 'teeth as the teeth of lions;' that is, ſtrong to devour. So Joel deſcribes the locuſts, i. 6. as 'a nation, whoſe teeth are the teeth of a lion, and he hath the cheek-teeth of a great lion:' and it is wonderful how they bite and gnaw all things, as † Pliny ſays, even the doors of the houſes. They had alſo 'breaſt-plates, as it were breaſt-plates of iron:' and the locuſts have a hard ſhell or ſkin, which ‡ hath been called their armour. This figure is deſigned to expreſs the defenſive, as the former was the offenſive arms of the Saracens. 'And the ſound of their wings was as the ſound of chariots of many horſes running to battle.' Much the ſame compariſon had been uſed by Joel, ii. 5. 'Like the noiſe of chariots on the tops of mountains ſhall they leap:' and ‖ Pliny affirms, that they fly with ſo great a noiſe of their wings, that they may be taken for birds. Their *wings*, and 'the ſound of their wings,' denote the ſwiftneſs and rapidity of their conqueſts; and it is indeed aſtoniſhing, that in leſs than a century they erected an empire, which extended from India to Spain.

Moreover they are thrice compared unto 'ſcorpions,' ver. 3, 5. 10. and had ſtings in their tails like unto ſcorpions; that is, they ſhould draw a poiſonous train after them, and wherever they carried their arms, there alſo they ſhould diſtil the venom of a falſe religion. It is farther added, ver. 11. that they had a king over them; the

* Arabes mitrati degunt, aut intonſo crine: barba abraditur, praeterquam in ſuperiore labro. Aliis et hæc intonſa, Plin. ibid. Plurimis crinis intonſus, mitrata capita, pars raſa in cutem barba. Solinus Cap. 33. p. 46. Edit. Salmaſii Trinitus quidam, &c. Amman Marcell Lib. 13. ubi notat Valeſius, Talis erat habitus Saracenorum, ut docet Hieronymus in vita Malchi. Ecce ſubito equorum camelorumque ſeſſores Iſmalitae irruunt, crinitis vitatiſque capitibus, &c.: et Theodorus Mopſueſtenus in Caput X Hieremiæ, Saracenos ait comam a fronte quidem detondere retro autem intonſam demittere *etc.* p. 954 Edit. Paris 1681.

† Omnia vero morſu erodentes, et fores quoque tectorum Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 11. Cap. 29. Sect. 55. Edit. Harduin.

‡ Claudian Epigram 32. De locuſta: Fragmentum

——cognatus dorſo dura ſecit amictus
Armavit natura cutem.

‖ Tanto volant pennarum ſtridore, ut aliæ alites credantur Plin. ibid.

the ſame perſon ſhould exerciſe temporal as well as ſpiritual ſovereignty over them; and the caliphs were their emperors, as well as the heads of their religion. The king is the ſame as the *ſtar* or 'angel of the bottomleſs pit,' whoſe name is *Abaddon* in Hebrew, and *Apollyon* in Greek, that is *the deſtroyer*. Mr Mede * imagines, that this is ſome alluſion to the name of *Obodas*, the common name of the kings of that part of Arabia from whence Mohammed came, as *Pharaoh* was the common name of the kings of Egypt, and *Cæſar* of the emperors of Rome: and ſuch alluſions are not unuſual in the ſtile of ſcripture. However that be, the name agrees perfectly well with Mohammed and the caliphs his ſucceſſors, who were the authors of all thoſe horrid wars and deſolations, and openly taught and profeſſed that their religion was to be propagated and eſtabliſhed by the ſword.

One difficulty, and the greateſt of all, remains yet to be explained; and that is the period of 'five months' aſſigned thoſe locuſts, which being twice mentioned, merits the more particular conſideration. They 'tormented men five months,' ver. 5. and again, ver. 10. 'their power was to hurt men five months.' It is ſaid without doubt in conformity to the type; for locuſts † are obſerved to live about 'five months.' that is from April to September. Scorpions too, as ‡ Bochart aſſerts, are noxious for no longer a term, the cold rendering them torpid and inactive. But of theſe locuſts it is ſaid, not that their duration or exiſtence was only for 'five months,' but their 'power of hurting and tormenting men' continued 'five months.' Now theſe months may either be months commonly ſo taken: or prophetic months, conſiſting each of 30 days, as St John reckons them, and ſo making 150 years at the rate of each day for a year; or the number being

* Mede ibid. p. 470.

† Vergiliarum exortu parere, (Circa Maii Nonas) deindeadCanis ortum obire (Circa XV Calendas auguſti) et alias renaſci. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 11. Cap 29. Sect. 35. Edit. Hard. Locuſtæ vere natæ ſubſinem æſtatis obeunt, nec ſupra quinque menſes vivere ſolent. Bochart. Hieroz. Part Poſt Lib. 4. Cap. 8. Col. 495.

‡ Nec fruſtra eſt, quod myſticis loueſtis, quae ſcorpionum cauda habent, non datur poteſtas nocendi hominibus, niſi per menſes quinque. Quippe ut locuſtae. ita nec ſcorpiones diutius nocent. Nam per frigora torpent, nec quidquam ab iis eſt periculi. Bochart. ibid. Lib. 4. Cap. 29. Col. 645.

being repeated twice, the ſums may be thought to be doubled, and 'five months' and 'five months' in prophetic computation will amount to 300 years. If theſe months be taken for common months, then, as the natural locuſts live and do hurt only in the five ſummer months, ſo the Saracens, in the five ſummer months too, made their excurſions, and retreated again in the winter. It appears, that this was their uſual practice, and particularly when * they firſt beſieged Conſtantinople in the time of Conſtantine Pogonatus. For "from the month of April, till September, they pertinaciouſly continued their ſiege, and then deſpairing of ſucceſs, departed to Cyzicum, where they wintered, and in ſpring, again renewed the war: and this courſe they held for ſeven years, as the Greek annals tell us." If theſe months be taken for prophetic months or 150 years, it was within that ſpace of time that the Saracens made their principal conqueſts. Their empire might ſubſiſt much longer, but their *power* of *hurting* and *tormenting men* was exerted chiefly within that period. Read the hiſtory of the Saracens, and you will find that their greateſt exploits were performed, their greateſt conqueſts were made, between the † year 612 when Mohammed firſt 'opened the bottomleſs pit,' and began publicly to teach and propogate his impoſture, and the year 762, when the Caliph Almanſor built Bagdad, to fix there the ſeat of his empire, and called it *the city of peace*. Syria, Perſia, India, and the greateſt part of Aſia: Egypt, and the greateſt part of Africa; Spain, and ſome parts of Europe, were all ſubdued in the intermediate time. But when the caliphs, who before had removed from place to place, fixed their habitation at Bagdad, then the Saracens ceaſed

* Howel's Hiſt of the world. Part. 3. Chap. 4. Sect. 7. p 288.—*απο μηνος Απριλλιω εις Σεπτεμβρ.. και υποστρεψαντες εν Κυζικω, ταυτην παραλαμβανουσι. και χειμαζουσιν εκει και κατα εαρ ομοιως επολεμουν μετα των χριστιανων, επι ετη επτα ουτω*:—ab Aprili uſque ad Septembrem memſem. Inde barbari revertentes Cyzicum occupaverunt, atque ibi hyemarunt: et vere rurſum Chriſtianis bellum fecerunt. Hoc modo ſeptem annos ſe geſſere. Cedreni Hiſt. Compend. p. 437. Edit. Paris. p. 345. Edit. Venet. Vide etiam Theophanis Chronograph. p. 264. Edit. Paris. p. 234. Edit. Venet.

† Prideaux life of Mahomet. p. 14. 8th Edit. Elmacine Hiſt. Saracen. Lib. 1. Cap. 1. p. 3. et Lib. 2 Cap. 3. p. 102. Abul Pharajii Hiſt Dyn 9. p. 140. Verſ. Pocockii Blair's Chronol. Tab. No. 36. Part 2d.

ed from their incurſions and ravages like locuſts, and became a ſettled nation; then they made no more ſuch rapid and amazing conqueſts as before, but only engaged in common and ordinary wars like other nations; then their power and glory began to decline, and their empire by little and little to moulder away; then they had no longer, like the prophetic locuſts, 'one king over them,' Spain * having revolted in the year 736 and ſet up another caliph in oppoſition to the reigning houſe of Abbas. If theſe months be taken doubly, or for 300 years, then according to † Sir Iſaac Newton, "the whole time that the caliphs of the Saracens reigned with a temporal dominion at Damaſcus and Bagdad together, was 300 years, viz. from the year 637, to the year 936 inclusive;" when ‡ their empire was broken and divided into ſeveral principalities or kingdoms. So that let theſe 'five months' be taken in any poſſible conſtruction, the event will ſtill anſwer, and the prophecy will ſtill be fulfilled; though the ſecond method of interpretation and application appears much more probable than either the firſt or the third.

In the concluſion it is added, ver. 12. 'One woe is paſt, and behold there come two woes more hereafter.' This is added, not only to diſtinguiſh the woes, and to mark more ſtrongly each period, but alſo to ſuggeſt that ſome time will intervene between this firſt woe of the Arabian locuſts, and the next of the Euphratean horſemen. The ſimilitude between the locuſts and Arabians is indeed ſo great, that it cannot fail of ſtriking every curious obſerver: and a farther reſemblance is ‖ noted by Mr Daubuz, that "there hath happened in the extent of this torment a coincidence of the event, with the name of the locuſts. The Saracens have made inroads into all thoſe parts of Chriſtendom where the natural locuſts are wont to be ſeen and known to do miſchief, and no where elſe: And that too in the ſame proportion. Where the locuſts

* Elmacini Hiſt. Saracen, Lib. 2. Cap. 3. p. 101. Blair ibid.

† Sir Iſaac Newton on the Apoc. Chap. 3. p. 305. See likewiſe p. 91. of Mr Jackſon's Addreſs to the Deiſts: wherein are ſome pertinent obſervations concerning the completion of this and the ſucceeding Woe.

‡ Elmacin. Lib. 3. Cap. 1. p. 203. Blair's Tab. No. 39.

‖ Daubuz. p. 409.

are ſeldom ſeen, there the Saracens ſtayed little: where the natural locuſts are often ſeen, there the Saracens abode moſt; and where they breed moſt, there the Saracens had their beginning and greateſt power. This may be eaſily verified by hiſtory."

13 And the ſixth angel ſounded, and I heard a voice from the four horns of the golden altar, which is before God.

14 Saying to the ſixth angel which had the trumpet, Looſe the four angels which are bound in the great river Euphrates.

15 And the four angels were looſed, which were prepared for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year, for to ſlay the third part of men.

16 And the number of the army of the horſemen *were* two hundred thouſand thouſand: and I heard the number of them.

17 And thus I ſaw the horſes in the viſion, and them that ſat on them, having breaſt plates of fire and of jacinct, and brimſtone: and the heads of the horſes *were* as the heads of lions; and out of their mouths iſſued fire, and ſmoke, and brimſtone.

18 By theſe three was the third part of men killed, by the fire, and by the ſmoke, and by the brimſtone, which iſſued out of their mouths.

19 For their power is in their mouth, and in their tails: for their tails *were* like unto ſerpents, and had heads, and with them they do hurt.

20 And the reſt of the men which were not killed by theſe plagues, yet repented not of the works of their hands, that they ſhould not worſhip devils, and idols of gold and ſilver, and braſs, and ſtone, and of wood: which neither can ſee, nor hear, nor walk:

21 Neither repented they of their murders, nor of their ſorceries, nor of their fornication, nor of their thefts.

At the ſounding of the ſixth trumpet, ver. 13. 14, 15. a voice proceeded 'from the four horns of the golden altar,' (for the ſcene was ſtill in the temple), ordering the angel of the ſixth trumpet 'to looſe the four angels which were bound in the great river Euphrates;' and they 'were looſed' accordingly. Such a voice proceeding 'from

'from the four horns of the golden altar' is a ſtrong indication of the divine diſpleaſure; and plainly intimates that the ſins of men muſt have been very great, when the altar, which was their ſanctuary, and protection, called aloud for vengeance. 'The four angels' are the four ſultanies or four leaders of the Turks and Othmans. For there were four principal ſultanies or kingdoms of the Turks bordering upon the river Euphrates: * one at Bagdad founded by Togrul Beg, or Tangrolipix, as he is more uſually called, in the year 1055: another at Damaſcus founded by Tagjuddaulas or Ducas in the year 1079: a third at Aleppo founded by Sjarfuddaulas or Melech in the ſame year 1079: and the fourth at Iconium in Aſia Minor founded by Sedyduddaulas or Cutlu Muſes, or his ſon, in the year 1080. Theſe four ſultanies ſubſiſted ſeveral years afterwards; and the ſultans were *bound* and reſtrained from extending their conqueſts farther than the territories and countries adjoining to the river Euphrates, primarily by the good providence of God, and ſecondarily by the croiſades or expeditions of the European Chriſtians into the holy land in the latter part of the eleventh, and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Nay, the European Chriſtians took ſeveral cities and countries from them, and confined them within narrower bounds. But when an end was put to the croiſades, and the Chriſtians totally abandoned their conqueſts in Syria and Paleſtine, as they did in the latter part of the thirteenth century; then 'the four angels on the river Euphrates were looſed.' Soliman Shah † the firſt chief and founder of the Othman race, retreating with his three ſons from Jingiz Chan and the Tartars, would have paſſed the river Euphrates, but was unfortunately drowned, the time of 'looſing the four angels' being not yet come. Diſcouraged at this ſad accident, two of his ſons returned to their former habitations: but Ortogrul the Third, with his three ſons Condoz, Sarubani, and Othman, remained ſome time in thoſe parts, and having obtained

* Elmacini Hiſt. Saracen Lib. 3. Cap. 7. et 8. 281. et 284. Edit. Erpenii. Heylen. Coſm. B. 3. p. 726. Edit 1703. Introduct. to the Hiſt. of Aſia. Cap. 11. Sect. 2. et 3. Sandy's Travels B. 1. p. 347th Edit.

† Pocockii Suppl. Abul-Pharaj. Hiſt. p. 41, 42. Herbelot. Bib. Orient. 822. 694, *etc.*

obtained leave of Aladin the ſultan of Iconium, he came with four hundred of his Turks, and ſettled in the mountains of Armenia. From thence they began their excurſions; and the other Turks aſſociating with them, and following their ſtandard, they gained ſeveral victories over the Tartars on one ſide, and over the Chriſtians on the other. Ortogrul * dying in the year 1288, Othman his ſon ſucceeded him in power and authority; and in the year 1299, as ſome ſay with the conſent of Aladin himſelf, he was proclaimed ſultan, and founded a new empire; and the people afterwards, as well as the new empire, were called by his name. For though they diſclaim the name of *Turks*, and aſſume that of *Othmans*, yet nothing is more certain, than that they are a mixt multitude, the remains of the four ſultanies above mentioned, as well as the deſcendents particularly of the houſe of Othman.

In this manner and at this time 'the four angels were looſed which were prepared for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year, for to ſlay the third part of men,' that is, as before, the men of the Roman empire, and eſpecially in Europe, the third part of the world. The Latin or weſtern empire was broken to pieces under the four firſt trumpets; the Greek or eaſtern empire was cruelly *hurt* and *tormented* under the fifth trumpet; and here under the ſixth trumpet is to be *ſlain* and utterly deſtroyed. Accordingly all Aſia Minor, Syria, Paleſtine, Egypt, Thrace, Macedon, Greece, and all the countries, which formerly belonged to the Greek or eaſtern Cæſars, the Othmans have conquered, and ſubjugated to their dominion. They firſt † paſſed over into Europe in the reign of Orchan their ſecond emperor, and in the year 1357 they ‡ took Conſtantinople, in the reign of Mohammed their ſeventh emperor, and in the year 1453: and in time all the remaining parts of the Greek empire ſhared the fate of the capital city. The laſt of their conqueſts

* Pocock. ibid. Serbelot. p. 694, 697.

† Pocockii. Supplem. p. 43. Herbelot. p. 695. A. 758. caepit Decem. 25. 1356 Pocockii Index.

‡ Leunclav. Pandect. Hiſt. Turc. Cap. 129. p. 448. Edit. Paris. p. 339. Edit. Venet. Pocok. ibid. p. 47. Herbelot. p. 615. Prince Cantemir's Hiſt. of the Othman empire. B 3. Chap. 1. Sect. 9. p. 103. Savage's Abridg. of Knolles and Rycaut. Vol. 1. p. 180, &c.

queſts were * Candia or the ancient Crete in 669, and Cameniec in 1672. For the execution of this great work it is ſaid that they 'were prepared for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year;' which will admit either of a literal or a myſtical interpretation; and the former will hold good if the latter ſhould fail. If it be taken literally, it is only expreſſing the ſame thing by different words, as 'peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues' are jointly uſed in other places: and then the meaning is, that they were prepared and ready to execute the divine commiſſion at any time or for any time, any *hour*, or *day*, or *month*, or *year*, that God ſhould appoint. If it be taken myſtically, and the *hour*, and *day*, *month*, and *year*, be a prophetic *hour*, and *day*, and *month*, and *year*, then a *year* (according to St John's, who follows herein Daniel's computation) conſiſting of 360 days is 360 years, and a *month* conſiſting of 30 days is 30 years, and a *day* is a year, and an *hour* in the ſame proportion is fifteen days; ſo that the whole period of the Othmans 'ſlaying the third part of men,' or ſubduing the Chriſtian ſtates in the Greek or Roman empire, amounts to 391 years and 15 days. Now it is wonderfully remarkable, that the firſt conqueſt mentioned in hiſtory, of the Othmans over the Chriſtians, was † in the year of the Hegira 680 and the year of Chriſt 1281. For Ortogrul "in that year (according to the accurate hiſtorian Saadi) crowned his victories with the conqueſt of the famous city of Kutahi upon the Greeks." Compute 391 years from that time, and they will terminate in the year 1672: and in that year, as it was hinted before, Mohammed the fourth * took Cameniec from the Poles, "and 48 towns and villages in the territory of Cameniec were delivered up" to the ſultan upon the treaty of peace. Whereupon Prince Cantemir hath made this memorable reflection, "This was the laſt victory by which any advantage accrued to the Othman ſtate, or any city or province was annexed to the ancient bounds of the empire." Agreeably to which obſervation, he hath intitled the former

* Prince Cantemir B. 3. Chap. 12. Sect. 8. p. 262. Sect. 16. p. 265. Savage, ibid. Vol. 2. p. 192, et 200.

† Prince Cantemir's Hiſt. B. 1. Chap. 2. Sect. 5. p. 10.

‡ Prince Cantemir's Hiſt. B. 3. Chap. Sect. 18, 19. p. 265.

mer part of his hiſtory *of the growth of the Othman empire*, and the following part *of the decay of the Othman empire*. Other wars and ſlaughters, as he ſays, have enſued. The Turks even beſieged Vienna in 1683; but this exceeding the bounds of their commiſſion, they were defeated. Belgrade and other places may have been taken from them, and ſurrendered to them again: but ſtill they have ſubdued no new ſtate or potentate of Chriſtendom now for the ſpace of between 80 and 90 years; and in all probability they never may again, their empire appearing rather to decreaſe than increaſe. Here then the prophecy and the event agree exactly in the period of 391 years; and if more accurate and authentic hiſtories of the Othmans were brought to light, and we knew the very day wherein Kutahi was taken as certainly as we know that wherein Cameniec was taken, the like exactneſs might alſo be found in the 15 days. But though the time be limited for the Othmans's 'ſlaying the third part of men,' yet no time is fixed for the duration of their empire; only this ſecond woe will end, when the third woe, xi. 14. or the deſtruction of the beaſt, ſhall be at hand.

A deſcription is then given, ver. 16—19. of the forces, and of the means and inſtruments, by which the Othmans, ſhould affect the ruin of their eaſtern empire. The armies are deſcribed as very numerous, myriads of myriads;' and who knoweth not what mighty armies the Othman emperors have brought into the field? When Mohammed the Second beſieged Conſtantinople, he had * about four hundred thouſand men in his army, beſides a powerful fleet of thirty larger and two hundred leſſer ſhips. They are deſcribed too chiefly as *horſemen*; and ſo they are deſcribed both by Ezekiel and by Daniel, as there was occaſion to obſerve in the laſt diſſertation upon Daniel: and it is well known, that their armies conſiſted chiefly of cavalry, eſpecially before the order of Janizaries was inſtituted by Amurath the Firſt. The Janizaries may be the guard of the court, but the Timariots, or horſemen holding

* Δισμυριαδες γενεσθαι κ. τ. λ. Quadraginta myriades hominum dicuntur tunc temporis in exercitu regis fuiſſe—claſſis regiæ, in qua erant tri remes triginta, naves minores ducentæ. Laonicus Chalcocondylas de rebus Turcicis, Lib. 8. p. 203. Ed. Paris. p. 158. Ed. Venet.

holding lands by ſerving in the wars, are the ſtrength of the government; and theſe, as Heylin * affirms, are in all accounted between ſeven and eight hundred thouſand fighting men; ſome ſay that they are a million; and beſides theſe, there are Spahi's and other horſemen in the emperor's pay.

In the viſion that is in appearance, and not in reality, 'they had breaſt-plates of fire, and of jacinct or hyacinth, and brimſtone.' The colour of *fire* is red, of *hyacinth* blue, and of *brimſtone* yellow: and this, as Mr Daubuz † obſerves, "hath a literal accompliſhment; for the Othmans, from the firſt time of their appearance, have affected to wear ſuch warlike apparel of ſcarlet, blue, and yellow." Of the Spahi's particularly ſome have red, and ſome have yellow ſtandards, and others red or yellow, mixt with other colours. In appearance too 'the heads of the horſes were as the heads of lions,' to denote their ſtrength, courage, and fierceneſs; 'and out of their mouths iſſued fire, and ſmoke, and brimſtone.' A manifeſt alluſion to great guns and gun-powder, which were invented under this trumpet, and were of ſuch ſignal ſervice to the Othmans in their wars. For 'by theſe three was the third part of men killed,' by theſe the Othmans made ſuch havock and deſtruction in the Greek or eaſtern empire. Amurath the Second ‡ broke into Peloponeſus, and took ſeveral ſtrong places by the means of his artillery. But his ſon Mohammed at the ſiege of Conſtantinople ‖ employed ſuch great guns, as were never made before. One

* Heylin's Coſm. B. 3. p. 729. Edit. 1703. Sandy's Travels, B. 1. p. 38. 7th Edit.

† Daubuz. p. 444. See too Rycaut's Preſent State of the Othman Empire, B. 3. Chap. 3. Tournefort's Voyage, vol. 2. Lett. 1. p. 36, &c.

‡ Chalcocond. ibid. Lib. 7.

‖ τηλεβολας πασμεγιστους. κ. τ. λ. Bombardes fieri curavit maximas, quantas novimus ea tempeſtate nunquam extitiſſe.—Tanta hujus bombardæ magnitudo extittit, ut a ſeptuaginta jugis boum et a viris bis mille trahenda fuerit.—Bombardæ quas rex habebat, duae maximae, emittebant lapidem qui appendebat talenta duo—Hae emittebant lapidem, cujus pondus erat dimidium talentum—Bombarda maxima torquebat globum cujus pondus continebat tria circiter talenta.—Bombardae hujus tonitru tantum eſſe traditum eſt ut finitima regio uſque ad quadraginta ſtadia concuteretur.—Jam quadraginta diebus murus bombardis fortiter quaſſatus erat, &c. Chalcocond. ibid. Lib. 8. p. 203, 204. Edit. Paris. p. 158, Edit. Venet.

One is deſcribed to have been of ſuch a monſtrous ſize, that it was drawn by ſeventy yoke of oxen and by two thouſand men. There were two more, each of which diſcharged a ſtone of the weight of two talents. Others emitted a ſtone of the weight of half a talent. But the greateſt of all diſcharged a ball of the weight of three talents, or about three hundred pounds: and the report of this cannon is ſaid to have been ſo great, that all the country round about was ſhaken to the diſtance of forty furlongs. For forty days the wall was battered by theſe guns, and ſo many breaches were made, that the city was taken by aſſault, and an end put to the Grecian empire.

Moreover 'they had power to do hurt by their tails,' as well as by their mouths, their tails being like unto ſerpents, and 'having heads.' In this reſpect they very much reſemble 'the locuſts;' only the different tails are accommodated to the different creatures, the tails of 'ſcorpions to locuſts;' the tails of 'ſerpents with an head at each end to horſes.' By this figure it is meant, that the Turks draw after them the ſame poiſonous trains as the Saracens; they profeſs and propagate the ſame impoſture; they do hurt not only by their conqueſts, but alſo by ſpreading their falſe doctrine; and wherever they eſtabliſh their dominion, there too they eſtabliſh their religion. Many indeed of the Greek church remained, and are ſtill remaining among them; but they are * made to pay dearly for the exerciſe of their religion; are ſubjected to a capitation-tax, which is rigorouſly exacted upon all above fourteen years of age; are burdened beſides with the moſt heavy and arbitrary impoſitions upon every occaſion; are compelled to the loweſt and moſt ſervile drudgery; are abuſed in their perſons, and robbed of their property; have not only the mortification of ſeeing ſome of their friends and kindred daily apoſtatiſe to the ruling religion. But had even their children taken from them to be educated therein, of whom the moſt robuſt and hardy were trained up to the ſoldiery, the more weakly and tender were caſtrated for the ſeraglio: but notwithſtanding theſe perſecutions and oppreſſions ſome remains of the Greek church are ſtill preſerved

* See Smith's and Rycaut's accounts of the Greek church.

ſerved among them, as we may reaſonably conclude, to ſerve ſome great and myſterious ends of providence.

But though the Greek church was thus ruined and oppreſſed, 'the reſt of men,' ver. 20, 21. 'who were not killed by theſe plagues,' the Latin church which pretty well eſcaped theſe calamities, 'yet repented not of the works of their hands,' that they ſhould not worſhip devils, δαιμονια demons or ſecond mediatory gods, as it hath largely been ſhewn before, ſaints and angels, 'and idols of gold, and ſilver, and braſs, and ſtone, and wood.' From hence it is evident, that theſe calamities were inflicted upon the Chriſtians for their idolatry. As the eaſtern churches were firſt in the crime, ſo they were firſt likewiſe in the puniſhment. At firſt they were viſited by the plague of the Saracens, but this working no change or reformation, they were again chaſtiſed by the ſtill greater plague of the Othmans; were partly overthrown by the former, and were entirely ruined by the latter. What churches were then remaining, which were guilty of the like idolatry, but the weſtern, or thoſe in the communion with Rome? And the weſtern were not at all reclaimed by the ruin of the eaſtern, but perſiſted ſtill in the worſhip of ſaints, and (what is worſe) the worſhip of images, 'which neither can ſee, nor hear, nor walk:' and the world is witneſs to the completion of this prophecy to this day. 'Neither repented they of their murders,' their perſecutions and inquiſitions, 'nor of their ſorceries,' their pretended miracles and revelations, 'nor of their fornication,' their public ſtews and uncleanneſs, 'nor of their theſts,' their exactions and impoſitions on mankind: and they are as notorious for their licentiouſneſs and wickedneſs, as for their ſuperſtition and idolatry. As they therefore refuſed to take warning by the two former woes, the third woe, as we ſhall ſee, will fall with vengeance upon them.

CHAP. X.

1 AND I ſaw another mighty angel come down from heaven, cloth-

ed with a cloud, and a rainbow *was* upon his head, and his face *was* as it were the

ſun, and his feet as pillars of fire.

2 And he had in his hand a little book open: and he ſet his right foot upon the ſea, and *his* left *foot* on the earth.

3 And cried with a loud voice, as *when* a lion roareth: and when he had cried, ſeven thunders uttered their voices.

4 And when the ſeven thunders had uttered their voices, I was about to write: and I heard a voice from heaven ſaying unto me, Seal up thoſe things which the ſeven thunders uttered, and write them not.

5 And the angel which I ſaw ſtand upon the ſea, and upon the earth, lifted up his hand to heaven,

6 And ſware by him that liveth for ever and ever, who created heaven and the things that therein are, and the earth, and the things that therein are, and the ſea, and the things which are therein, that there ſhould be time no longer:

7 But in the days of the voice of the ſeventh angel, when he ſhall begin to ſound, the myſtery of God ſhould be finiſhed, as he hath declared to his ſervants the prophets.

8 And the voice which I heard from heaven ſpake unto me again, and ſaid, Go, *and* take the little book which is open in the hand of the angel which ſtandeth upon the ſea, and upon the earth.

9 And I went unto the angel and ſaid unto him, Give me the little book. And he ſaid unto me, Take *it*, and eat it up; and it ſhall make thy belly bitter, but it ſhall be in thy mouth as ſweet as honey.

10 And I took the little book out of the angel's hand, and ate it up; and it was in my mouth as ſweet as honey; and as ſoon as I had eaten it, my belly was bitter.

11 And he ſaid unto me, Thou muſt prophecy again before many peoples, and nations, and tongues, and kings.

St John, in the concluſion of the laſt chapter, having touched upon the corruption of the weſtern church, proceeds now to deliver ſome prophecies relating to this lamentable event. But before he enters upon the ſubject, he (and the church in him) is prepared for it by an auguſt and conſolatory viſion. 'Another mighty angel came down from heaven,' ver. 1. deſcribed ſomewhat like the

ange—

angel in the three laſt chapters of Daniel, and in the firſt chapter of the Revelation, 'he had in his hand,' ver. 2. 'a little book,' βιβλαριδιον 'a little book,' or codicil different from the βιβλιον or *book* mentioned before; and it was *open*, that all men might freely read and conſider it. It was indeed a codicil to the larger book, and properly cometh under the ſixth trumpet, to deſcribe the ſtate of the weſtern: and this is with good reaſon made a ſeparate and diſtinct prophecy; on account of the importance of the matter, as well as for engaging the greater attention. 'He ſet his right foot upon the ſea, and his left foot on the earth,' to ſhew the extent of his power and commiſſion: 'and when he had cried aloud,' ver. 3. 'ſeven thunders uttered their voices,' St John would have written down, ver. 4. 'thoſe things which the ſeven thunders uttered,' but was forbidden to do it. As we know not the ſubjects of 'the ſeven thunders,' ſo neither can we know the reaſons for ſuppreſſing them: but it may be conceived, that ſomething may be proper to be revealed to the apoſtle, and yet not to be communicated to the church. By theſe 'ſeven thunders,' * Vitringa underſtands the ſeven great croiſades or expeditions of the weſtern Chriſtians for the conqueſt of the holy land, and Daubus the ſeven kingdoms which received and eſtabliſhed the proteſtant reformation by law. But doth it not favour rather of vanity and preſumption than of wiſdom and knowledge, to pretend to conjecture what they are, when the Holy Spirit hath purpoſely concealed them? Then the angel, ver. 5, 6, 7. 'lifted up his hand to heaven,' like the angel in Daniel, xii. 7. 'and ſware by him that liveth for ever and ever,' the great Creator of all things, ὁτι χρονος ουκ ἐσται ἐτι, 'that the time ſhall not be yet,' but it ſhall be in the days of the ſeventh trumpet, that 'the myſtery of God ſhall be finiſhed,' and the glorious ſtate of his church be perfected, agreeable to the good things which he hath promiſed, ὡς εὐηγγελισε, 'to his ſervants the prophets.' This is ſaid for the conſolation of Chriſtians, that though 'the little book,' deſcribes the calamities of the weſtern church, yet they ſhall all have a happy period under the ſeventh trumpet. St John is then ordered, ver. 8, 9, 10.

* Vitring. in locum. p. 431. Daubuz. p. 469.

'to eat the little book,' as Ezekiel iii. 3. did upon a like occaſion: and he 'ate it up;' he thoroughly conſidered and digeſted it; and found it to be, as he was informed it would be, 'ſweet as honey in his mouth, but bitter in his ſtomach.' The knowledge of future things at firſt was pleaſant, but the ſad contents of the little book afterwards filled his ſoul with ſorrow. But theſe contents were not to be 'ſealed up' like thoſe of 'the ſeven thunders;' this 'little book' was to be publiſhed, ver. 11. as well as the larger book of the Apocalyps; it was a kind of *ſecond* prophecy, added to the former; and as it encerned 'kings and nations,' ſo it was to be made public for their uſe and information. But if here, as ſome contend, the prophecy begins again anew, the ſubject is reſumed from the beginning, and all that follows is contained in 'the little book,' then 'the little book,' contains more matter than 'the larger book,' and part of the *ſealed* book is made part of the *open* book' which is contrary to the regularity and order of the Apocalyps, and in great, meaſure deſtroys the beauty and ſymmetry of the different parts; for it is evident and undeniable, that the ſeventh trumpet is the ſeventh part of the ſeventh ſeal, as the ſeventh ſeal is the ſeventh part of the ſealed book, and conſequently can be no part of the little open book, which endeth, as we ſhall ſee, with the ſixth trumpet, and immediately before the ſounding of the ſeventh.

CHAP. XI.

1 AND there was given me a reed like unto a rod: and the angel ſtood ſaying, Riſe, and meaſure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worſhip therein.

2 But the court which is without the temple, leave out, and meaſure it not; for it is given unto the Gentiles: and the holy city ſhall they tread under foot forty *and* two months.

3 and I will give *power* unto my two witneſſes, and they ſhall prophecy a thouſand two hundred *and* threeſcore days clothed in ſackcloth.

4 Theſe are two olive-trees, and the two candleſticks ſtanding before the God of the earth.

5 And if any man will hurt them, fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies; and

'to eat the little book,' as Ezekiel iii. 3. did upon a like occaſion: and he 'ate it up;' he thoroughly conſidered and digeſted it; and found it to be, as he was informed it would be, 'ſweet as honey in his mouth, but bitter in his ſtomach.' The knowledge of future things at firſt was pleaſant, but the ſad contents of the little book afterwards filled his ſoul with ſorrow. But theſe contents were not to be 'ſealed up' like thoſe of 'the ſeven thunders;' this 'little book' was to be publiſhed, ver. 11. as well as the larger book of the Apocalyps; it was a kind of *ſecond* prophecy, added to the former; and as it encerned 'kings and nations,' ſo it was to be made public for their uſe and information. But if here, as ſome contend, the prophecy begins again anew, the ſubject is reſumed from the beginning, and all that follows is contained in 'the little book,' then 'the little book,' contains more matter than 'the larger book,' and part of the *ſealed* book is made part of the *open* book' which is contrary to the regularity and order of the Apocalyps, and in great, meaſure deſtroys the beauty and ſymmetry of the different parts; for it is evident and undeniable, that the ſeventh trumpet is the ſeventh part of the ſeventh ſeal, as the ſeventh ſeal is the ſeventh part of the ſealed book, and conſequently can be no part of the little open book, which endeth, as we ſhall ſee, with the ſixth trumpet, and immediately before the ſounding of the ſeventh.

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4 Theſe are two olive-trees, and the two candleſticks ſtanding before the God of the earth.

5 And if any man will hurt them, fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies; and

if any man will hurt them, he muſt in this manner be killed.

6 Theſe have power to ſhut heaven, that it rain not in the days of their prophecy: and have power over waters to turn them to blood, and to ſmite the earth with all plagues as often as they will.

7 And when they ſhall have finiſhed their teſtimony, the beaſt that aſcendeth out of the bottomleſs pit, ſhall make war againſt them, and ſhall overcome them, and kill them.

8 And their dead bodies *ſhall lie* in the ſtreet of the great city, which ſpiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where alſo our Lord was crucified.

9 And they of the people, and kindreds, and tongues, and nations, ſhall ſee their dead bodies three days and a half, and ſhall not ſuffer their dead bodies to be put in graves.

10 And they that dwell upon the earth ſhall rejoice over them, and make merry, and ſhall ſend gifts one to another; becauſe theſe two prophets tormented them that dwelt on the earth.

11 And after three days and an half, the ſpirit of life from God entered into them: and they ſtood upon their feet, and great fear fell upon them which ſaw them.

12 And they heard a great voice from heaven, ſaying unto them, Come up hither. And they aſcended up to heaven in a cloud, and their enemies beheld them.

13 And the ſame hour was there a great earthquake, and the tenth part of the city fell, and in the earthquake were ſlain of men ſeven thouſand, and the remnant were affrighted, and gave glory to the God of heaven.

14 The ſecond woe is paſt, *and* behold, the third woe cometh quickly.

In the former part of this chapter, from the firſt verſe to the fourteenth, are exhibited the contents of this little book. St John is commanded, ver. 1. to *meaſure* the inner court, 'the temple of God, and the altar, and them who worſhip therein', to ſhew, that during all this period there were ſome true Chriſtians, who conformed to the rule and meaſure of God's word. This meaſuring might allude more particularly to the Reformation from Popery, which fell out under this ſixth trumpet; and one of

the moral cauſes of it was the Othman's taking of Conſtantinople, whereupon the Greeks flying from their own country, and bringing their books with them into the more weſtern parts of Europe, proved the happy occaſion of the revival of learning; as the revival of learning opened mens eyes, and proved the happy occaſion of the Reformation. But though 'the inner court,' which includes the ſmaller number, was *meaſured*, yet 'the outer court,' which implies the far greater part, was 'left out,' ver. 2. and rejected, as being in the poſſeſſion of Chriſtians only in name, but *Gentiles* in worſhip and practice, who profaned it with heatheniſh ſuperſtition and idolatry; and they ſhall tread under foot the holy city,' they ſhall trample upon, and tyrannize over the church of Chriſt, for the ſpace of forty and two months.'

At the ſame time God ſhould raiſe up ſome true and faithful witneſſes, ver. 3. to preach and proteſt againſt theſe innovations and corruptions of religion: for there were proteſtants long before ever the name came into uſe. Of theſe witneſſes there ſhould be, though but a ſmall, yet a competent number; and it was a ſufficient reaſon for making them 'two witneſſes,' becauſe that is the number required by the law, and approved by the goſpel, Deut. xix. 15. Matt. xviii. 16. 'In the mouth of two witneſſes ſhall every word be eſtabliſhed: and upon former occaſions, two have often been joined in commiſſion, as Moſes and Aaron in Egypt, Elijah and Eliſha in the apoſtaſy of the ten tribes, and Zerubbabel and Joſhua after the Babyloniſh captivity, to whom theſe witneſſes are particularly compared. Our Saviour himſelf ſent forth his diſciples, Luke x. 1. 'two and two:' and it hath been obſerved alſo, that the principal reformers have uſually appeared, as it were in pairs, as the Waldenſes and Albigenſes, John Huſs and Jerome of Prague, Luther and Calvin, Cranmer and Ridley, and their followers. Not that I conceive, that any two particular men, or two particular churches, were intended by this prophecy; but only it was meant in the general, that there ſhould be ſome in every age, though but a few in number, who ſhould bear witneſs to the truth, and declare againſt the iniquity and idolatry of their times. They ſhould not be diſcouraged even by perſecution and oppreſſion

preſſion, but though 'clothed in ſackcloth,' and living in a mourning and afflicted ſtate, ſhould yet *prophecy*, ſhould yet preach the ſincere word of God, and denounce the divine judgments againſt the reigning idolatry and wickedneſs: and this they ſhould continue to do, as long as the grand corruption itſelf laſted, for the ſpace of 'a thouſand two hundred and threeſcore days.' It is the ſame ſpace of time with 'the forty and two months' before mentioned. For 'forty and two months,' conſiſting each of thirty days, are equal to 'a thouſand two hundred and threeſcore days, *or* years,' in the prophetic ſtile: and 'a thouſand two hundred and threeſcore years,' as we have ſeen before in Daniel, and ſhall ſee hereafter in the Revelation, is the period aſſigned for the tyranny and idolatry of the church of Rome. The *witneſſes* therefore cannot be any two men, or any two churches, but muſt be a ſucceſſion of men, and a ſucceſſion of churches.

A character is then given of theſe witneſſes, and of the power and effect of their preaching. 'Theſe are the two olive-trees, and the two candleſticks ſtanding before the God of the earth,' ver. 4. that is, they are like Zerubbabel and Joſhua, Zec. iv. the great inſtructors and enlightners of the church. Fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies, ver. 4. that is, they are like unto Moſes and Elijah, Num xvi. 2 Kings i. who called for fire upon their adverſaries. But their fire was real, this is ſymbolical, and 'proceedeth out of the mouth' of the witneſſes, denouncing the divine vengeance on the corrupters and oppoſers of true religion; much in the ſame manner, as it was ſaid to Jeremiah v. 14. 'I will make my words in thy mouth fire, and this people wood, and it ſhall devour them. Theſe have power to ſhut heaven, that it rain not in the days of the prophecy,' ver. 6. that is, they are like Elijah, who foretold a want of rain in the days of Ahab, 1 Kings xvii. 1. James v. 17. 'and it rained not on the earth for the ſpace of three years and ſix months,' which, myſtically underſtood, is the ſame ſpace of time as 'the forty and two months,' and 'the thouſand two hundred and threeſcore days,' which are allotted for the propheſying of the witneſſes. During this time the divine grace, and protection, and bleſſing ſhall be withheld from thoſe men, who neglect

and

and deſpiſe their preaching and doctrine. 'They have' alſo 'power over the waters to turn them to blood, and to ſmite the earth with all plagues, as often as they will,' that is, they are like Moſes and Aaron, who inflicted theſe plagues on Egypt: and they may be ſaid to 'ſmite the earth with the plagues which they denounce,' for in ſcripture language the prophets are often ſaid to do thoſe things, which they declare and foretel. But it is moſt highly probable, that theſe particulars will receive a more literal accompliſhment, when the plagues of God, and the vials of his wrath, Chap. xvi. ſhall be poured out upon men, in conſequence of their having ſo long reſiſted the teſtimony of the witneſſes. Their cauſe and the cauſe of truth, will finally be avenged on all their enemies.

Next, after this deſcription of the power and office of the witneſſes, follows a prediction of thoſe things, which ſhall befal them at the latter end of their miniſtry: and their paſſion, and death, and reſurrection, and aſcenſion are copied from our Saviour's, who is emphatically ſtiled iii. 14. 'the faithful and true witneſs;' but with this difference, that his were real, theirs are figurative and myſtical. 'And when they ſhall have finiſhed, ὅταν τελέσωσι, when they ſhall be about finiſhing their teſtimony,' ver. 7. 'the beaſt that aſcendeth out of the abyſs, the tyrannical power of Rome, of which we ſhall hear more hereafter, 'ſhall make war againſt them, and ſhall overcome them, and kill them.' 'The beaſt' indeed 'ſhall make war againſt them' all the time that they are performing their miniſtry; but 'when they ſhall be near finiſhing it, *he* ſhall *ſo* make war againſt them 'as to overcome them, and kill them.' They ſhall be ſubdued and ſuppreſſed, be degraded from all power and authority, be deprived of all offices and functions, and be politically dead, if not naturally ſo. In this low and abject ſtate they ſhall lie ſome time, ver. 8. 'in the ſtreet of the great city,' in ſome conſpicuous place within the juriſdiction of * Rome, 'which ſpiritually

* Mr Mann, the late learned Maſter of the Charter-houſe, in ſome Manuſcript notes upon Vitringa's book on the Revelation, communicated to me by my friend Dr Jortin, hath the following to prove that not Jeruſalem, but Rome was intended in this place. Rev. xi. 8. *The great city which ſpiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where their Lord was crucified.* 1.ſt Jeruſalem in ver. 2. of this very

ſpiritually is called Sodom' for corruption of manners, 'and Egypt' for tyrranny and oppreſſion of the people of God, 'where alſo our Lord was crucified' ſpiritually, being crucified afreſh in the ſufferings of his faithful martyrs. Nay, to ſhew the greater indignity and cruelty to the martyrs 'their dead bodies' ſhall not only be publicly expoſed, ver. 9. but they ſhall be denied even the common privilege of burial, which is the caſe of many proteſtants in popiſh countries: and their enemies 'ſhall rejoice' and inſult 'over them,' ver. 10. 'and ſhall ſend' mutual preſents and congratulations 'one to another,' for their deliverance from theſe *tormentors*, whoſe life and doctrine were a continual reproach to them. But 'after three days and a half,' ver. 11. that this in the prophetic ſtile 'after three years and a half,' for no leſs time is requiſite for all theſe tranſactions, they ſhall be raiſed again by 'the ſpirit of God,' and ver. 12. ſhall 'aſcend up to heaven;' they ſhall not only be reſtored to their priſtine ſtate, but ſhall be

"very chapter is called the holy city: can it be in ſo few pe-
"riods intended under the names of Sodom and Egypt?

2. "The holy city or Jeruſalem, ver 2. was to be waſted and "trod under foot by the Gentiles for 42 months: the two wit-
"neſſes were to prophecy the ſame ſpace of time: how then
"ſhould their carcaſes lie in the ſtreets of Jeruſalem ſo waſted?

3. "Jeruſalem in this book is four times called the Holy city,
"never the Great (unleſs it be here meant). The great city is
"twelve times repeated only of Babylon, i. e Rome: is it pro-
"bable it ſhould be here uſed of Jeruſalem?

4. "In ver. 13 at the revival of the two witneſſes after lying "dead three days and a half, the tenth part of the city fell: but "in ver. 2. Jeruſalem is already waſted, and not ſuppoſed to be "rebuilt; and therefore incapable of being ſo damaged.

5. "And were Jeruſalem rebuilt, the enemies of Chriſt out of all "people, tongues, and nations, ver. 9. would aſſemble there "or the beaſt expoſe the ſlain witneſſes but in his own capital,

1. "Object. There are two characteriſtics aſſigned, which fit "Jeruſalem only, That it is ſpiritually or figuratively called So-
"dom and Egypt; as Jeruſalem is compared to Sodom, Iſa. i. 10.
"and iii. 9. (of Egypt no inſtance.)

1. "Anſw. That Capernaum, Mat. xi. 23, 24. is likewiſe com-
"pared to Sodom by Chriſt; and ſo is any city that ſhall reject
"the goſpel, Matt. x. 15. Whence Tertullian (adv. Jud. c. 9.) ob-
"ſerves of this very name. Nec hoc novum Scripturis divinis fi-
"Rome uti tranſlatione nominum, ex comparatione criminum. So
"gurate might be called Sodom for lewdneſs, and Egypt for the
"oppreſſion of God's people.

"Object. The ſecond characteriſtic, where alſo our Lord was "crucified,

be farther promoted to dignity and honour; and that by 'a great voice from heaven,' by the voice of public authority. 'At the ſame hour there ſhall be a great earthquake,' there ſhall be great commotions in the world; 'and the tenth part of the city ſhall fall,' as an omen and earneſt of a ſtill greater fall; 'and ſeven thouſand names of men,' or ſeven thouſand men of name, 'ſhall be ſlain;' and the remainder in their fright and fear ſhall acknowledge the great power of God.

Some interpreters are of opinion, that this prophecy of 'the death and reſurrection of the witneſſes' received its completion * in the caſe of John Huſs and Jerome of Prague, who were *two* faithful *witneſſes* and martyrs of the bleſſed Jeſus. It is very well known, that they were condemned to death, and afterwards burnt for hereſy by the council of Conſtance. Which council ſitting about 'three years and a half,' from November, 1414, to April 1418, their *bodies* may that time be ſaid to have lain 'unburied in the ſtreet of the great city, in Conſtance where was the greateſt aſſembly not only of biſhops and cardinals, but likewiſe of of embaſſadors, barons. counts, dukes, princes, and the emperor himſelf. But after the council wrs diſſolved, theſe two preachers were reſtored as it were to life in their diſciples and followers, who propagated the ſame doctrines, maintained them by force of arms as well as by preaching, and even vanquiſhed the Imperialiſts

" crucified, determines the place to Jeruſalem beyond all poſſi-
" bility of doubting.

2. " Anſw. Mill's ſays, The text ſhould be read, Ὅπου ὁ Κύριος αὐτῶν
" ἐσταυρώθη, where the Lord was crucified, or had been crucified; yet
" indeed without making any great difference to the literal ſenſe
" But why may not this expreſſion be uſed figuratively as well as
" the preceding? why may not the Lord of the two witneſſes be
" ſpiritually crucified where they are ſpiritually ſlain? St Paul to
" the Galatians uſes this expreſſion figuratively 3 or 4 times: the
" Epiſt. to the Heb. vi. 6. uſes it figuratively, and perhaps in the
" very ſenſe it may bear here. Though it is capable too of ano-
" ther, which is authorized by Chriſt himſelf, for Mat. x. and xxv.
" and Acts ix. 4, 5. he declares himſelf to ſuffer what is done to
" his followers. In that Great city therefore, which was drunk
" with the blood of the ſaints and the martyrs of Jeſus, Chap. xvii.
" 6. Jeſus himſelf might be ſaid to be crucified."

* Fox et Virring. p. 587, &c. Vide etiam Fred. Spanhemii Hiſt. Chriſt Sæc XV. Cap. 6, 7. Hiſtoire du Concile de Conſtance par Jaques Lenfant. Voltair's General Hiſtory and ſtate of Europe, Part 2. and Annals of the empire, vol. 2.

Imperialiſts in ſeveral battles. It was truly ſaid to them 'Come up hither,' when they were invited to the council of Baſil with a promiſe of redreſs of grievances; but the council having dealt fraudulently with them, they broke out again into open rebellion, 'and the tenth part of the city fell,' the kingdom of Bohemia revolted, and fell alike from its obedience to the pope and emperor.

Others refer this prophecy to * the proteſtants of the league of Smalcald, who were entirely routed by the emperor Charles V. in the battle of Mulburgh on the 24th of April 1547; when the two great champions of the proteſtants, John Frederic, elector of Saxony, was taken priſoner, and the Landgrave of Heſſe was forced to ſurrender himſelf, and to beg pardon of the emperor. Proteſtaniſm was then in a manner ſuppreſſed, and the maſs reſtored. The witneſſes were *dead*, but *not buried*; and the papiſts 'rejoiced over them, and made merry, and ſent gifts one to another.' But this joy and triumph of theirs were of no very long continuance; for in the ſpace of about 'three years and a half,' the proteſtants were *raiſed again* at Magdeburg, and defeated and took the duke of Mecklenburg priſoner in December 1550. From that time their affairs changed for the better almoſt every day; ſucceſs attended their arms and counſels; and the emperor was obliged by the treaty of Paſſau to allow them the free exerciſe of their religion, and to re-admit them in the imperial chamber, from which they had ever ſince the victory of Malburgh been excluded. Here was indeed 'a great earthquake,' a great commotion, in which many 'thouſands were ſlain; *and* the tenth part of the city fell,' a great part of the German empire renounced the authority, and abandoned the communion of the church of Rome.

Some again may think this prophecy very applicable to † the horrid maſſacre of the proteſtants at Paris, and in other cities of France, begun on the memorable eve of St Bartholomew's day 1572. According to the beſt authors, there were ſlain thirty or forty thouſand hugonots

* Brightman and Vitring. p. 491, &c. See alſo Sleidan's Hiſt. of the Reformation, B. 19, &c. Voltair's Annals of the Empire, vol. 2.

† Vitring. p. 496. &c. Thuani Hiſt. Lib. 52, 53, et 62. Davila Hiſt. B. 5 et 6. Mezeray, Charles IX and Henry III.

nots in a few days; and among them without doubt many true witneſſes and faithful martyrs of Jeſus Chriſt. 'Their dead bodies lay in the ſtreet of the great city,' one of the greateſt cities of Europe; for they were not ſuffered to be buried, being the bodies of heretics; but were dragged through the ſtreet, or thrown into the river, or hung upon gibbets, and expoſed to public infamy. Great *rejoicings* too were made in the courts of France, Rome, and Spain; they went in proceſſion to the churches, they returned puclic thanks to God, they ſung Te Deums, they celebrated jubilees, they ſtruck medals; and it was enacted, that St Bartholomew's day ſhould ever afterwards be kept with double pomp and ſolemnity. But neither was this joy of long continuance; for in little more than 'three years and a half,' Henry III. who ſucceeded his brother Charles, entered into a treaty with the hugonots, which was concluded and publiſhed on the 14th of May 1576, whereby all the former ſentences againſt them were reverſed, and the free and open exercile of their religion was granted to them; they were to be admitted to all honours, dignities, and offices, as well as the papiſts; and the judges were to be half of the one religion, and half of the other; with other articles greatly to their advantage, which were in a manner the *reſurrection* of the witneſſes, and their 'aſcenſion into heaven.' The 'great earthquake" and the 'falling of the tenth part of the city,' and the 'ſlaying of thouſands of men,' according to this hypotheſis, muſt be referred to the great commotions and civil wars, which for ſeveral years afterwards cruelly diſturbed, and almoſt deſtroyed the kingdom of France.

Others again have recourſe to later events, and the later indeed the better and fitter for the purpoſe. Peter Jurieu a famous divine of the French church at Rotterdam, * imagined that the perſecution then carried on by Lewis XIV. againſt the proteſtants of France. after the revocation of the edict of Nantes in October 1685, would be the laſt perſecution of the church; that during this time the witneſſes would lie dead, but ſhould recover and revive within a few years, and the Reformation ſhould be

* Jurieu's Accompliſhment of the Prophecies. Part. 2. Cap. 12. and 13.

be eſtabliſhed in that kingdom by royal authority; the whole country ſhould renounce popery, and embrace the proteſtant religion. Biſhop Lloyd and after him Mr Whiſton * apply this prophecy to the poor proteſtants in the vallies of Piedmont, who by a cruel edict of their ſovereign the Duke of Savoy, inſtigated by the French king, were impriſoned and murdered, or baniſhed and totally diſſipated at the latter end of the year 1686. They were kindly received and ſuccoured by the proteſtant ſtates; and after while ſecretly entering Savoy with their ſwords in their hands, they regained their ancient poſſeſſions with great ſlaughter of their enemies; and the Duke himſelf, having then left the French intereſt, granted them a full pardon; and re-eſtabliſhed them, by another edict ſigned June 4, 1690, juſt 'three years and an half' after their total diſſipation. Biſhop Lloyd not only underſtood the prophecy in this manner, but what is very remarkable, made the application even before the event took place, as Mr Whiſton relates, and upon this ground encouraged a refugee miniſter, of the Vaudois, whoſe name was Jordan, to return home, and returning he heard the joyful news of the deliverance and reſtitution of his country. Theſe were indeed moſt barbarous perſecutions of the proteſtants both in France and Savoy: and at the ſame time popery here in England was advanced to the throne, and threatened an utter ſubverſion of our religion and liberties, but in little more than 'thre years and an half' a happy deliverance was wrought by the glorious Revolution.

In all theſe caſes there may be ſome reſemblance to the prophecy before us, of the death and reſurrection of the witneſſes; and it may pleaſe an over-ruling providence ſo to diſpoſe and order events, that the calamities and afflictions of the church may in ſome meaſure run parallel one to another, and all the former efforts of that tyrannical and perſecuting power called 'the beaſt,' may be the types and figures as it were of this his laſt and greateſt effort againſt the witneſſes. But though theſe inſtances ſufficiently anſwer in ſome reſpects, yet they are deficient in others, and particularly in this, that they are none of them the laſt perſecution; others have been ſince, and in

* Whiſton's Eſſay on the Rev. Part 3. Viſion 2.

all probability will be again. Beſides as 'the two witneſſes' are deſigned to be the repreſentatives of the proteſtants in general, ſo the perſecution muſt be general too, and not confined to this or that particular church or nation. We are now living under the 'ſixth trumpet:' and the empire of the 'Euphratean horſemen, or Othmans is ſtill ſubſiſting, and perhaps in as large extent as ever: 'the beaſt' is ſtill *reigning*; 'the witneſſes are ſtill,' in ſome times and places more, in ſome leſs, 'propheſying in ſackloth.' It will not be till toward 'the end of their teſtimony,' and that *end* ſeemeth to be yet at ſome diſtance, that the great victory and triumph of the *beaſt*, and the ſuppreſſion, and reſurrection, and exaltation of 'the witneſſes' will take effect. When all theſe things ſhall be accompliſhed, then 'the ſixth trumpet' will end, then the ſecond woe ſhall be *paſt*, ver. 14. the Othman empire ſhall be broken in the ſame manner that Ezekiel, xxxviii. xxxix. and Daniel, xi. 44, 45. have predicted: the ſufferings of 'the witneſſes' ſhall ceaſe and they ſhall be raiſed and exalted above their enemies: and when 'the ſecond woe' ſhall be thus 'paſt, behold the third woe,' or the total deſtruction of the beaſt, 'cometh quickly.' Some time intervened between 'the firſt' and 'the ſecond woes;' but upon the ceaſing of 'the ſecond, the third' ſhall commence immediately.

It appears then that the greater part of this prophecy relating to 'the witneſſes' remains yet to be fulfilled; but poſſibly ſome may queſtion, whether any part of it hath been fulfilled; whether there have been any ſuch perſons as 'the witneſſes,' any true and faithful ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt, who have in every age profeſſed doctrines contrary to thoſe maintained by the pope and church of Rome. The truth of the fact will beſt appear by an hiſtorical deduction; and if it can be proved, that there have conſtantly been ſuch *witneſſes* from the ſeventh century down to the Reformation, during the moſt flouriſhing period of popery, I preſume there can be little doubt about the times preceding or following. As there hath been occaſion to obſerve before, the ſeeds of popery were ſown even in the apoſtles time, but they were not grown up to maturity, the power of the pope as a *horn* or temporal prince, was not eſtabliſhed till the eighth century: and

from

from thence therefore it will be proper to begin our deduction, when the beaſt began to reign, and the witneſſes to 'prophecy in ſackcloth.'

Great as the power of the Latin church was grown in the *eighth* century, the Greek church ſtill diſſented from it, and oppoſed it. The emperors * Leo Iſauricus and his ſon Conſtantine Copronymus not only vigorouſly oppoſed the worſhip of images, but alſo denied the interceſſion of ſaints, and burnt and deſtroyed their relics. In the year 754 Conſtantine Copronymus held a general council at Conſtantinople of 338 biſhops, who prohibited unanimouſly the worſhip of ſaints as well as of images; and † declared that "only one image was conſtituted by Chriſt himſelf, namely the bread and wine in the euchariſt; which repreſent the body and blood of Chriſt;" than which there cannot be a ſtronger declaration againſt the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation as well as againſt the worſhip of images. It is true that the ſecond council of Nice in the year 787 reſtored and eſtabliſhed the worſhip of images, and the pope ratified and confirmed it: but nevertheleſs great oppoſition was made to it by ſeveral churches in the weſt. Charlemain ‡ held a council at Francfort in the year 794, conſiſting of 300 biſhops of various nations, who condemned equally the ſecond council of Nice and the worſhip of images. The Caroline books were alſo ſet forth under the name and authority of that great monarch; and the doctrines therein contained, of the ſufficiency of the ſcriptures, of the worſhip of God alone, of prayers in the vulgar tongue, of the euchariſt, of juſtification, of repentance, of pretended viſions and miracles, and various other points, are ſuch as a papiſt would abhor, and a proteſtant would ſubſcribe.

* Theoph. Creden. Zonar. &c. &c. Fred. Spanhemii Hiſt. Chriſt. Sacc. VIII. Cap. 6, 7, &c.

† Aliis exploſis imaginibus, (verba ſunt Bellarmini Tom. 1. p. 536.) *unicam* definiverunt eſſe *imaginem ab ipſo Chriſto inſtitutam, nimirum panem et vinum in Euchariſtia, que repreſentant Chriſti corpus et ſanguinem*, Ex concil. Conſtant. Tom. 3. p. 359. Edit. Binnii. Uſſerius de Chriſtian. Eccleſ. ſucceſſione et ſtatu. Cap. 2. Sect. 4. p. 19.

‡ Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 6 et 9. Uſſer. ibid. p. 20. Allix's Remarks upon the ancient churches of the Albigenſes, Cap. 8.

ſcribe. Not to ſeek for farther inſtances, the * Britiſh churches lamented and execrated the ſecond council of Nice; and the famous Albin or Alcuin wrote a letter againſt it, diſproving and refuting it by expreſs authorities of holy ſcripture; which letter was tranſmitted to Charles the Great in the name of the biſhops and other great men of the kingdom. Even in Italy † the council of Forojulio preſcribed the uſe of no other creed but that of the apoſtles, ſo that they had no conception of the neceſſity of ſo many additional articles, as have ſince been made by pope Pius IV, and received by the church. Some even of the Italian biſhops aſſiſted at the council of Francfort before mentioned, and particularly Paulinus biſhop of Aquileia bore a principal part in it.

Popery prevailed ſtill more in the *ninth* century, but yet not without conſiderable oppoſition. Not only ‡ the emperors of the eaſt, Nicephorus, Leo Armenius, Michael Balbus, Theophilus, and the emperors of the weſt, Charles the Great, and Lewis the Pious, but alſo ſeveral prelates and eccleſiaſtics, oppoſed the abſolute power and ſupremacy of the pope, together with the worſhip of images, and invocation of ſaints and angels. The capitularies and edicts of Charles the Great and Lewis the Pious, ‖ injoining the reading of the cannonical ſcripture as the ſole rule of faith, without any regard to human traditions or apocryphal writings. Private maſſes and pilgrimages, and other ſuch ſuperſtitions § were forbidden by the ſame capitularies. Lewis the Pious held a council at Paris in the year 824, which ¶ agreed with the council of Francfort in rejecting the ſecond council of Nice, and forbidding the worſhip of images. Agobard, archbiſhop of Lyons,

* Hoveden, Annal. pars prior. p. 232. Simeon Dunelm. Hiſt. p. 111. Matt. Weſtm. Flores. Hiſt. Ann. p. 793. Uſſer. ibid. p. 19, 20. Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Book 2. p. 139.

† Tom. 7. Concil. p. 1602. Allix's Remarks upon the ancient churches of Piedmont. Cap. 8. Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 9, 10.

‡ Fred. Spanhemii Hiſt. Chriſtian. Saec. IX. Cap. 9. Miſcell. Sacrae Antiq. Lib. 6. Hiſt. Imag. 7, 8, 9.

‖ Capit. Aquiſgranens Spanhem. Hiſt. Chriſtian. Sæc. IX. Cap. 3. Sect. 2. Cap. 9. Sect. 2.

§ Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 9. Sect. 5, 8, &c.

¶ Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 9. Sect. 3. Cap. 12. Sect. 2. Hiſt. Imag. Sect. 9. Allix's Remarks upon the ancient churches of the Albigenſes, Chap. 9.

Lyons, in his book againſt pictures and images, maintains, that we ought not to adore any image of God, but only that which is God himſelf, even his eternal Son; and that there is no other Mediator between God and men, ſave Jeſus Chriſt God and man: ſo that it is no wonder that this book is condemned in the Index Expurgatorius of the church of Rome. It was in this century, that the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation was firſt advanced here in the weſt by Paſchaſius Radbertus abbat of Corbie in France; but it was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by Rabanus Maurus, Bertramus, Johannes Scotus, and many other biſhops and learned men of that age. Rabanus Maurus, archbiſhop of Mentz, * paſſes this cenſure upon the novelty of the doctrine; "Some, ſays he, of late not rightly conceiving concerning the ſacrament of the body and blood of our Lord, have affirmed that this is the very ſame body of our Lord, which was born of the virgin Mary, and in which our Lord himſelf ſuffered, &c. which error we have oppoſed to the utmoſt of our power, &c." He thus † expreſſes his own ſentiments; "Our Lord would have the ſacrament of his body and blood be taken and eaten by the faithful, that by a viſible work an inviſible effect might appear. For as the material food outwardly nouriſhes and refreſhes the body, ſo alſo the word of God inwardly nouriſhes and ſtrengthens the ſoul." Again: "the ſacrament is reduced into the nouriſhment of the body, but by the virtue of the ſacrament eternal life is obtained." Bertramus, or Ratramus as he is otherwiſe called, a monk of Corbie, wrote a book *of the body and blood of our Lord*, which he inſcribed to the em-

* Quidam nuper de ipſo ſacramento corporis et ſanguinis Domini non recte ſentientes, dixerunt hoc ipſum corpus Domini quod de Maria virgine natum eſt, et in quo ipſe Dominus paſſus eſt, &c. cui errori quantum potuimus, &c. Lib. Pœnitent. Cap. 33. Spanhem. Hiſt. Chriſtian. Saec. IX. Cap. 10. Sect. 4.

† Maluit Dominus corporis et ſanguinis ſui ſacramenta fidelium ore percipi, et in partem (al. paſtum) eorum redigi, ut per viſibile opus inviſibilis oſtendere effectus. Sicut enim cibus materialis forinſecus nutrit et corpus et vegetat, ita etiam verbum Dei intus animam nutrit et roborat. Sacramentum, in alimentum corporis redigitur virtute autem ſacramenti aeterna vita adipiſcitur, Inſtitut. Cleric. Lib. 1. Cap. 31. et de Univerſo Lib. 5. Cap. 11. Uſſer. de Chriſtian. Eccleſ. ſucceſſione et ſtatu. Cap. 2. Sect. 16.

peror, Charles the bald. The emperor * had enquired of him, " whether the ſame body, which was born of Mary, and ſuffered, and was dead and buried, and which ſitteth at the right hand of the Father, is what is daily taken in the mouth of the faithful by the myſtery of the ſacrament in the church :" and Bertram anſwers, that the difference between them is " as great as between the pledge, and the thing for which the pledge is delivered; it is as great as between the image, and the thing whoſe image it is; as great as between the repreſentation, and the reality." He ſays † in ſeveral places, that the bread and wine are figuratively the body of Chriſt, ſpiritually not corporally, in figure, in image, in myſtery, not in truth, or real exiſtence, or preſence of the ſubſtance." Johannes Scotus, the famous Iriſhman, for the Iriſh were the Scots of thoſe times, † wrote alſo a book *of the euchariſt* by the command of Charles the bald: and therein he aſſerted, that " the ſacrament of the altar is not the true body, nor true blood of our Lord, but only the memorial of the true body and of the true blood." He was after this invited into England by king Alfred, was preferred by him, and honoured with the title of martyr after his death; which is at leaſt a ſtrong preſumption, that the church of England had not at that time received the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation. In Italy itſelf ‡ Angilbertus, archbiſhop of Milan, would not acknowledge the ſupremacy of the pope, nor did the church of Milan ſubmit to

* Ubi quaerenti imperatori *utrum ipſum corpus quod de Maria natum eſt et paſſum mortuum et ſepultum, quodque ad dexteram Patris conſideret, ſit quod ore fidelium per ſacramentorum myſterium in eccleſia quotidie ſumitur*; reſpondet Bertramus diſcrimen inter utrumque eſſe tantum *quantum eſt inter pignus, et eam rem pro qua pignus traditur; quantum inter imaginem, et rem cujus eſt imago; et quantum inter ſpeciem et veritatem.* Uſſer. ibid. Sect. 17.

† Ibi fuſe Bertramus, *Panem vinumque figurate corpus Chriſti exiſtere; ſpiritualiter, non corporaliter; in figura in imagine, in myſterio; non in veritate*, ſua reali exiſtentia, vel praeſentia *ſubſtantiae*, &c. Spanhem ib.

‡ Sacramentum altaris non eſſe verum corpus, nec verum ſanguinem Domini, ſed ſolummodo memoriale veri corporis et veri ſanguinis. Spanhem. ibid. Uſſer. ibid. Sect 19. Dupin IX. Siecle Chap. 7. Cave. Hiſt. Litt. Ann. 858. p. 45. Vol. 2. Collier's Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. Book 3. p. 165.

‖ Sigon. de Regn. Ital. Lib. 5. Ann. 814. Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 9. Sect.

to the ſee of Rome till two hundred years afterwards. But no one was more willing, as indeed no one of that age was more able to ſtem the torrent of ſuperſtition than Claud biſhop of Turin, in his numerous writings and comments upon ſcripture. He * aſſerted the equality of all the apoſtles with St Peter, and maintained that Jeſus Chriſt was the only head of the church. He overthrew the doctrine of merit and all pretences to works of ſupererogation. He rejected traditions in matters of religion, held the church to be ſubject to error, and denied the uſe of prayers for the dead. He propoſed the doctrine of the euchariſt in a manner totally different from Paſchaſius Radbertus, and entirely conformable to the ſenſe of the ancient church. He oppoſed with all his might the worſhip of ſaints, of relics, of images, together with pilgrimages, penances, and other ſuperſtitions of the like kind. He may in a manner be ſaid to have ſown the ſeeds of the Reformation in his dioceſe of Turin; and his doctrines took ſuch deep root eſpecially in the vallies of Piedmont, that they continued to flouriſh there for ſome centuries, as the papiſts themſelves acknowledge.

The *tenth* century even the writers of the Romiſh communion lament and deſcribe as the moſt debauched and wicked, the moſt illiterate and ignorant age ſince the coming of Chriſt. Genebrard † ſays "This is called the unhappy age, being deſtitute of men famous for wit and learning, as alſo of famous princes and popes; in which ſcarce any thing was done worthy of the memory of poſterity." He ſubjoins, "But chiefly unhappy is this one thing, that for almoſt 150 years about 50 popes totally degenerated from the virtue of their anceſtors, being more like apoſtates than apoſtles." Baronius himſelf † denominates

* See theſe points proved by quotations and extracts from his works in Dr Allix his Remarks upon the ancient churches of Piedmont. Chap. 9. See alſo Spanhem. Dupin, Cave, &c.

† Infelix dicitur hoc ſæculum, exhauſtum hominibus ingenio et doctrina claris, ſicetiam claris principibus; et pontificibus; in quo nihilfere dignum memoria poſteritatis geſtum ſit—Hoc vero uno infelix quod per annos fere 150 pontifices cerciter 50 a virtute majorum prorſus defecerint, Apotactici Apoſtaticive potius quam Apoſtolici, Genebrard. Chron. Lib. 4. In initio X. Saec Uſſer. deChriſtian. Eccleſ. ſucceſſione et ſtatu. Cap. 2. ſect. 34. Spanhemii Hiſt. Chriſtian. Saec. X. Cap. 3. Sect. 1.

† En novum inchoatur ſæculum, quod ſui aſperitate ac boni ſterilitate

nates it an *iron*, a *leaden*, and *obſcure* age: and declares that "Chriſt was then, as it appears, in a very deep ſleep, when the ſhip was covered with waves: and what ſeemed worſe, when the Lord was thus aſleep, there were wanting diſciples who by their cries might awaken him, being themſelves all faſt aſleep." It is not to be wondered, that in ſo long and dark a night as this, while all were aſleep, the ſubtile enemy ſhould ſow his tares in great abundance. However, there were ſome few like 'lights ſhining in a dark place,' who remonſtrated againſt the degeneracy and ſuperſtition of the times. The reſolutions and decrees of the councils of Francfort and Paris againſt the worſhip of images † had ſtill ſome force and influence in Germany, in France, in England, and other countries. In the former part of this century, in the year 909, a council † was held at Troſly, a village near Soiſſons in France; and having made ſeveral wiſe and good regulations, they concluded with a profeſſion of the things, which Chriſtians ought to believe and practiſe: and in that profeſſion are none of thoſe things which conſtitute the ſum of popiſh doctrine, nothing of the pope's being head of the church, nothing of the daily ſacrifice of the maſs, or of purgatory, or of the worſhip of creatures, or of commentitious ſacraments, or of confeſſion to the prieſt, but of pure and ſincere confeſſion to God: ſo much did this council differ from the ſpirit and principles of the council of Trent. Many churches * ſtill retained the uſe of the ſcriptures in the vulgar tongue: and in England particularly Athelſtan cauſed them to be tranſlated into the Anglo-Saxon idiom. Great oppoſition ‖ was alſo made in ſeveral countries to the celibacy of the clergy; and ſeveral councils were held upon the controverſy between

ſterilitate *ferreum*, malique exundantis deformitate *plumbeum*, atque inopia ſcriptorum appellari conſuevit *obſcurum*. Baron. ad ann. 900. Dormiebat tunc plane alto (ut apparet) ſopore Chriſtus, cum navis fluctibus operiretur: Et quod deterius videbatur, deerant qui Dominum ſic dormientem clamoribus excitarent diſcipuli, ſtertentibus omnibus. ibid. ad ann. 912. Uſſer. ibid. Spanhem. ibid.

* Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 6 ſect 8. Hiſt. Imag. ſect. 9.

† Tom. 3. Concil. Galliæ. Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 8. Sect. 3. Dupin. X Siecle. Cap. 3.

‡ Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 6. Sect. 2. et 10. Scripturas divinas vertit fecit in Anglo-Saxonicum idioma. Wilh. Malmeſ. et Belæus.

‖ Spanhem. ibid. Sect. 5. Spelmanni Concil. Brit. Vol. 1. Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. B. 3. p. 199.

between the monks and the ſecular clergy, and particularly in England, where Elfere earl of Mercia expelled the monks out of the monaſteries in that province, and introduced the clergy with their wives. Many too even in this age denied the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation. Heriger abbot of Lobes near Liege * wrote expreſsly againſt it; as did alſo † Alfric in England, whoſe homily for Eaſter uſed to be read publicly in the churches. His principal aim therein ‡ is to prove, "that we ſpiritually taſte the body of Chriſt, and drink his blood, when with true faith we partake of that holy ſacrament; the bread and wine cannot by any benediction be changed into the body and blood of Chriſt, they are indeed the body and blood of Chriſt, yet not corporally, but ſpiritually;" with much more to the ſame purpoſe. He wrote alſo two epiſtles, the one addreſſed to Wulſin biſhop of Shirburn, and the other to Wulfſtan archbiſhop of York, wherein he aſſerts the ſame doctrine. In the former he thus ‖ explains the doctrine of the ſacrament; "The hoſt is the body of Chriſt, not corporally, but ſpiritually. Not the body in which he ſuffered; but the body of which he ſpake, when he conſecrated the bread and wine the night preceding his paſſion, and ſaid of the conſecrated bread, This is my body, and again of the conſecrated wine, This is my blood, which is ſhed for many for the remiſſion of ſins." In the latter he hath theſe § memorable words, which ſome papiſts of more zeal than

* Singebert de Eccleſiaſt. Script. Cap. 138. Uſſer. ibid. Sect. 20. Spanhem, ibid. Cap. 7. Sect. 3. Dupin. ibid. Cap. 4.

† Uſſer. ibid. Sect. 20, 21. Spahnem. ibid. Sect. 2. Dupin. ibid. Cap. 5. Cave, Hiſt. Litt. Vol. 2. p. 108, &c. Collier's Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. B. 3. p. 204, &c.

‡—id pene unice agit, "ut oſtendat nos ſpiritualiter corpus "Chriſti guſtare ejuſque ſanguinem bibere, cum vera fide ſacram "illam guſtamus euchariſtiam; panem et vinum non poſſe per "ullam benedictionem in Chriſti corpus et ſanguinem mutari: "vere quidem Chriſti corpus et ſanguinem eſſe, non tamen corporaliter, ſed ſpritualiter; &c," Cave. ibid. p. 120.

‖ Hoſtia illa eſt Chriſti copus non corporaliter ſed ſpiritualiter. Non corpus in quo paſſus eſt: ſed corpus de quo locutus eſt, quando panem et vinum, ea quæ paſſionem anteceſſit nocte, in hoſtiam conſecravit: et de ſacrato pane dixit, Hoc eſt corpus meum; rurſumquae de ſacro vino, Hic eſt ſanguis meus, qui pro multis effunditur in remiſſionem peccatorum. Apud Uſſer. ibid. Sect. 21.

§ Non ſit tamen hoc ſacrificium corpus ejus in quo paſſus eſt pro nobis, neque ſangus ejus quem pro nobis effudit, ſpiritualiter cor-

than knowledge attempted to eraſe out of the manuſcript copy. "Yet this ſacrifice is not made his body in which he ſuffered for us, nor his blood which he poured out for us, but it is ſpiritually made his body and blood: as the manna which rained from heaven, and the water which flowed from the rock, as Paul the apoſtle ſaith." The ſynods and councils, which were held in this age by the authority of kings and biſhops, ſhew evidently that the power of the pope had not yet extended over all. Nay there were kings and biſhops who oppoſed the ſupremacy of the pope; and none more than * the council of Rheims in the year 991, and Gerbert archbiſhop of Rheims, who declared, "that if the pope did amiſs, he was liable to the "cenſures of the church:" and ſpeaking of the pope then reigning John XV, "What," ſays he, "do you conceive this man, ſitting on a lofty throne, glittering in purple clothing and in gold, what, I ſay, do you conceive him to be? If he is deſtitute of charity, and is puffed up by knowledge alone, he is Antichriſt ſitting in the temple of God, and ſhewing himſelf that he is God." He was afterwards himſelf choſen pope under the name of Sylveſter II. and poſſibly the change of his ſituation might produce a change in his ſentiments.

Much of the ſame complexion with the tenth was the *eleventh* century, equally ſunk in profligacy, ſuperſtition, and ignorance, but yet not without ſome ſuperior ſpirits to bear teſtimony againſt it. The papal power was in this century carried beyond all bounds by the ambition and arrogance of the reigning popes, and particularly by the violence and haughtineſs of Gregory VII, whoſe former name was Hildebrand, or *Hell Brand*, as he hath often been denominated. But yet there were emperors and councils, who ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the pretenſions and

pus ejus efficitur et ſanguis ſicut manna quod de caelo pluit, et aqua quae de petra fluxit, ſicut Pallus apoſtolus ait. Apud Uſſer. ibid. et Cave ibid.

* Spanhem. ex Baronio add ann. 991. Num. 10. &c. et ex Epiſt. Gerberti. Si peccaverit, ſubeſſe judicio eccleſiae.—Quod hunc, reverendi patres, in ſublimi ſolio reſidentem, veſte purpurea et auro radiantem, quid hunc, inquam, eſſe cenſetis? Nimirum ſi charitate deſtituitur, ſolaque ſcientia inflatur et extollitur, Antichriſtus eſt in templo Dei ſedens, et ſe oſtendens tanquam ſit Deus. Cap. 6. Sect. 3. &c. Dupin. ibid. Chap. 5. See alſo Allix's Remarks upon the ancient churches of the Albigenſes. Chap. 10.

and uſurpations of the See of Rome; and theſe conteſts and ſtruggles between the popes and emperors about the right of inveſtitures and other articles make a principal part of the Hiſtory of this age. Our Engliſh kings, devoted as they were to the religion, yet would not entirely ſubmit to the authority of the biſhop of Rome; but contradicted it in ſeveral inſtances. When William I. was required by the pope to pay him homage, he made * anſwer, "To pay homage I have been unwilling, nor am I willing; for neither did I promiſe it, neither do I find that my predeceſſors paid it to your predeceſſors." His ſon William Rufus exerted ſomewhat of the ſame ſpirit, and † inſiſted that the pope, without his permiſſion, had no manner of juriſdiction in England. Early in this century, there ‡ appeared at Orleans ſome heretics as they were called, who maintained that the conſecration of the prieſt could not change the bread and wine into the body and blood of Chriſt, and that it was unprofitable to pray to ſaints and angels; and they were condemned by the council of Orleans in the year 1017. Not long after theſe ‖ appeared other heretics of the ſame ſtamp in Flanders, who were alſo condemned by the ſynod of Arras in the year 1025. They came originally from Italy, where they had been the diſciples of Gundulphus; and they are ſaid to have admitted no ſcripture but the goſpel and apoſtolical writings; to have denied the reality of the body and blood of Chriſt in the euchariſt; to have attributed no religious worſhip to the holy confeſſors, none to the croſs, none to images, nor to temples nor altars; and to have aſſerted, that there was no purgatory, and that penances after death could not abſolve the deceaſed from their ſins. Other tenets were aſcribed to them, which were really heretical; and perhaps they might hold ſome errors, as well as ſome truth; or perhaps

* Fidelitatem facere nolui, nec volo; quia nec ego promiſi, nec antecеſſores meos antecеſſoribus tuis id feciſſe comperio. Apud Baron. Ann. 1079, Sect. 25. Uſſer. de Chriſtian. Eccleſ. ſucceſſione et ſtatu. Cap. 7. Sect. 9.

† Eadmer. Hiſt. Lib. 2. Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. B. 4. p. 279.

‡ Dupin XI. Sieele. Chap. 13. Fred Spanhemii Hiſt. Chriſtian. Sæc. XI. Chap. 10. Sect. 1.

‖ Spanhem. ibid. Dupin. ibid. Allix's Remarks upon the ancient church of Piedmont. Chap. 11.

haps their adverſaries, as it hath been their uſual artifice, might lay things to their charge merely to blacken and defame them. Not long after theſe * aroſe the famous Berengarius, a native of Tours, and archdeacon of Angers, who more profeſſedly wrote againſt the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation; and alſo † called "the church of Rome a church of malignants, the council of vanity, and the ſeat of Satan." It is true that he was compelled by the authority of popes and councils to renounce, abjure, and burn his writings. But his was all a forced, and not in the leaſt a voluntary recantation. As often as he recanted, he relapſed again. He returned like a dog to his vomit, as a ‡ contemporary popiſh writer expreſſeth it. He lived and died in the ſame ſentiments. His hereſy was from him called the Berengarian hereſy; and his followers were ſo numerons, that as ‡ old hiſtorians relate, he had corrupted almoſt all the French, Italians, and Engliſh with his depravities. When Gregory VII. had, both by letters and by a council held at Rome in the year 1074, ſtrictly forbidden the marriage of the clergy, it raiſed ‖ great commotions among the eccleſiaſtics in Germany; who not only complained of the pope for impoſing this yoke, but likewiſe accuſed him of advancing a notion inſupportable, and contrary to the words of our Saviour, who ſaith that all are not able to live in continence, and to the words of the apoſtle, who ordereth thoſe who have not the gift of continence to marry. They added that this law, in forcing the ordinary courſe of nature, would be the cauſe of great diſorders; that they would rather renounce the prieſthood than marriage; and the pope ſhould provide, if he could,

angels

* Uſſer. ibid. Cap. 7. Sect. 24, &c. Dupin. ibid. Cap. 2. Spanhem. ibid. Cap 8, &c.

† Eccleſiam Romanam, eccleſiam malignantium concilium vanitatis, et ſedem Satanae vocabat. Guliclm. Reginald. Calvino Turciſm. Lib. 2. Cap. 5. Uſſer ibid. Sect. 24.

‡ Qui licet eandem haeriſin ſaepiſſime in ſynodo abjuravit, ad vomitum tamen ſuum canino more non expavit redire. Bertoldus Conſtantienſis preſbyter apud Uſſer. ibid Sect. 34.

‖ Eodem tempore, Berengarius Turonenſis, in haereticam prolapſus pravitatem, omnes Gallos, Italos, et Anglos, ſuis jam pene corruperat pravitatibus. Matt. Weſtmonaſt. eſt Hiſt. Roſſen. in anno 1087, Uſſer. ibid. Sect. 27.

‡ Dupin. ibid. Cap. 5. Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 7. Sect. 4.

angels to govern the church, since he refused to be ſerved by men. This was the language of theſe corrupt eccleſiaſtics, as * Dupin hath called them: but the decree of the pope was no leſs oppoſed in France, in Flanders, in Italy, and England than in Germany. A council was held at Wincheſter in the year 1076, wherein it was † decreed indeed, that no canon ſhould marry; but the prieſts in the country, who were already married, were allowed to cohabit with their wives; whereas the pope had injoined all prieſts without diſtinction to put away their wives, or to forbear the exerciſe of their office. Whereupon Mr Collier hath made this juſt reflection: "From hence it appears that the papal ſupremacy had not reached its zenith in this century, and that the Engliſh biſhops did not believe the patriarchal power arbitrary and unlimited, but that a national church had ſome reſerves of liberty, and might diſſent from the conſtitutions of the See of Rome upon occaſion."

Europe hitherto was involved in the dark night of popery, with only ſome ſtars appearing here and there in the horizon; but in the *twelfth* century there began to be viſible ſome ſtreaks of the morning light, ſome dawnings of a reformation. Here in England, during the reign of Henry II, the famous conſtitutions of Clarendon were ſworn to and ſigned both by the clergy and the laity, in recognition of the rights of the crown, particularly forbidden all appeals to Rome without the king's licence, and appointing the trial of criminal clerks before ſecular judges: But the beſt account of this as well as of the other memorable tranſactions of this reign, the public expects with ſome impatience from one of the moſt maſterly and elegant writers of the preſent age, a friend to religion and virtue, a friend to liberty and his country; and the public expectations have been ſince fully anſwered. Fluentius Biſhop of Florence ‡ taught publicly, that Antichriſt was born, and come into the world: whereupon

* C'eſt ainſi que ces eccleſiaſtiques corrompus parlerent. Dupin. ibid. p. 36.

† Collier's Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. B. 4. p. 248, 249. Spelmanni Concil. Vol. 2.

‡ Platina in vita Paſchal. II. Spanhemi. Hiſt. Chriſtian. Sæc. XII. Chap. 5. ſect. 2. Cave Hiſt. Litt. Sæc. XII. Concilia Vol. 2. p. 258. Calmet. Dict. in ANTICHRIST.

pope Paſchal II. at Florence, excommunicated there in the year 1205, and ſtrictly reprimanded the biſhop, and ſtrictly forbade him to preach his doctrine. St Bernard himſelf, devoted as he was and zealous to the church of Rome in other reſpects, * yet inveighed loudly againſt the corruption of the clergy, and the pride and tyranny of the popes, ſaying that they were the miniſters of Chriſt and ſerved Antichriſt, that nothing remained but that the man of ſin ſhould be revealed, that the beaſt in the Apocalyps occupied St Peter's chair, with other expreſſions to the ſame effect. While our king Richard I. was at Meſſina in Sicily, going upon his expedition to the holy land, he † ſent for the famous abbat Joachim of Calabria, and heard him with much ſatisfaction explain the Apocalyps, and diſcourſe of Antichriſt. He ſaid that Antichriſt was already born in the city of Rome, and that he would be advanced to the apoſtolical chair, and 'exalted above all that is called God or is worſhipped.' So that ſome true notion of Antichriſt began to ſpread even among the members of the church of Rome; and no wonder it prevailed among thoſe, who more directly oppoſed the doctrines of that church. Peter de Bruis and Henry his diſciple ‡ taught in ſeveral parts of France, that "the body and blood of Chriſt were not offered in the theatrical maſs; that the doctrine of the change of the ſubſtances in the ſacrament is falſe; that ſacrifices, that is maſſes, prayers, alms, and other works of the living for the dead, are fooliſh and impious, and profit them nothing; that prieſts and monks ought rather to marry than to burn, that croſſes are not to be adored, or venerated, and ſo

* Spanhem. ibid. Uſſer. de Chriſtian. Eccleſ. ſucceſſione et ſtatu Cap. 7. ſect. 5, 6.

† Rogeri de Hoveden Annal. Paris Poſterior p. 681. Edit. Francof. 1601. Jam natus eſt in civitate Romana, et in ſede apoſtolica ſublimabitur, &c. Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt B 6. p. 401.

‡ Corpus et ſanguinem Chriſti in theatrica miſſa non offerri. Doctrinam de ſpeciebus ſacramenti, ipſis nimirum ſubſtantiis mutatis eſſe falſam. Sacrificia, id eſt miſſas, orationes, eleemoſynas, et reliqua vivorum opera pro defunctis, eſſe ſtultitiam et impietatem, nihilque eis prodeſſe. Sacerdotes et monachos deberre uxores potius ducere, quam comburi. Cruces non adorandas aut venerandas: et tot cruces ſuperſtitioni ſervientes, potius amovendas quam retinendas, &c. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Madgeburg. Vol. 3. Cent. XII. Cap. 3. p. 151. &c. Edit. Baſil. 1624. Spanhem ibid. Cap. 3. Sect. 2. Dupin XII. Siecle Chap 6. Allix's Remarks upon the ancient churches of the Albigenſes, Chap. 14.

so many confessors dying in [illegible] ought rather to be reckoned [illegible] they both were martyrs, the one [illegible] burnt, and the other imprisoned for life, on account of their doctrines. Other heresies were laid to their charge, and their own writings are now extant to speak for them; but these things they taught and professed, their enemies themselves being judges.—Arnold of Brescia * held opinions contrary to those of the church concerning the sacrament, and preached mightily against the temporal power and jurisdiction of the pope and the clergy; for which he was burnt at Rome in the year 1155, and his ashes were thrown into the Tyber, to prevent the people from expressing any veneration for his relics. But the true witnesses, and as I may say the protestants of this age, were the Waldenses and Albigenses, who began to be famous at this time, and being dispersed into various places were distinguished by various appellations. Their first and proper name seemeth to have been *Vallenses*, or inhabitants of the vallies; and so saith † one of the oldest writers, Ebrard of Bethune who wrote in the year 1212; "They call themselves *Vallenses*, because they abide in the valley of tears," alluding to their situation in the vallies of Piedmont. They were called *Albigenses* from Alby a city in the southern parts of France, where also great numbers of them were situated. They were afterwards denominated *Valdenses* or *Waldenses* from Peter Valdo or Waldo a rich citizen of Lyons, and a considerable leader of the sect. From Lyons too they were called *Leonists*, and *Cathari* from the professed purity of their life and doctrine, as others since have had the name of *Puritans*. As there was a variety of names, so there might be some diversity of opinions among them; but that they were not guilty of Manicheism and other abominable heresies, which have been charged upon them, is certain and evident from all the remains of their creeds, confessions, and writings.

* Otho Frising de Gestis Frederici. Lib. 1. Spanhem ibid. Cap. 7. sect. 4. Dupin ibid Allix's Remarks on the ancient church of Piedmont. Chap. 18.

† Vallenses se appellant, eo quod in valle lachrymarum maneant Ebrard Beth. Antiharet. Cap. 25. Usser. ibid. Cap. 8 sect. 4. Allix. ibid.

Their opinions * are thus recited from an old manuscript by the Centuriators of Magdeburgh.

" In articles of faith the authority of the holy scripture " is the highest, and for that reason is the rule of judg- " ing; so that whatsoever agreeth not with the word of " God, is deservedly to be rejected and avoided.

" The decrees of fathers and councils are so far to be " approved, as they agree with the word of God.

" The reading and knowledge of the holy scriptures is " free and necessary for all men, the laity as well as the " clergy; yea and the writings of the prophets and apos- " tles are to be read rather than the comments of men.

" The

* In articulis fidei summam esse sacrae scripturae authoritatem, eamque, ob causam esse illam normam judicandi; ut quicquid cum verbo Dei non congruat, merito sit repudiandum et fugiendum.

Patrum et conciliorum dogmata catenus probanda, quatenus cum verbo Dei conveniunt.

Sacrarum scripturarum lectionem et cognitionem, omnibus hominibus, tum laicis, tum sacratis viris, liberam et necessariam esse; imo potius prophetarum et apostolorum monumenta legenda esse, quam hominum commenta.

Duo esse ecclesiae Christi sacramenta, baptismum caenam Domini.

Utriusque speciei usum, pro sacerdotibus et laicis, a Christo institutum esse.

Missas esse impias; ac furorem esse, pro mortuis missificare.

Purgatorium esse figmentum hominum; credentes enim, in vitam æternam, non credentes autem, in damnationem æternam venire.

Sanctorum mortuorum invocationes et cultum, esse idololatriam.

Romanam ecclesiam esse meretricem Babylonicam.

Papae et episcopis non obtemperandum: quia sint lupi ecclesiae Christi.

Papam non habere primatum omnes ecclesias Christi, nec habere potestatem utriusque gladii.

Ecclesiam Christi esse, quae sincerum Christi verbum audiat, et sacramentis ab ipso institutis utatur, ubicunque locorum ea, existat.

Vota esse hominum figmenta, Sodomam nutrientia.

Tot ordines esse tot characteris bestiæ.

Monachatum esse cadaver factidum.

Templorum tot superstitiosas dedicationes, memoris mortuorum, benedictiones creatureum, peregrinationes, tot coacta jejunia, tot festa superfluae perpetuos istos hominum indoctorum boatus, ac reliquarum ceremoniarum observationes, verbi doctrinam et institutionem manifeste impedientes, esse inventiones diabolicas.

Conjugium sacerdotum esse licitum et necessarium

Haec ex antiquo manuscripto libro proferimus Hist Eccles. Magdeburg. Vol. 3. Cent. XII. Cap. 8. p. 548, 549. Edit. Basil. 1624. See also the Confession of the faith of the Waldenses in Perrin's Hist. B. 1. Chap. 12, &c.

"The sacraments of the church of Christ are two,
" baptism and the supper of the Lord.

" The receiving of both kinds for priests and people
" was instituted by Christ.

" Masses are impious; and it is madness to say masses
" for the dead.

" Purgatory is an invention of men; for they who be-
" lieve, go into eternal life, they who believe not, into
" eternal damnation.

" The invocating and worshipping of dead saints is
" idolatry.

" The church of Rome is the whore of Babylon.

" We must not obey the pope and bishops; because
" they are the wolves of the church of Christ.

" The pope hath not the primacy over all the churches
" of Christ, neither hath he the power of both swords.

" That is the church of Christ which heareth the sin-
" cere word of Christ, and useth the sacraments institu-
" ted by him, in what place soever it exist.

" Vows of celibacy are inventions of men, and occasi-
" ons of Sodomy.

" So many orders are so many characters of the beast.

" Monkery is a stinkig carcase.

" So many superstitions dedications of churches, com-
" memorations of the dead, benedictions of creatures,
" pilgrimages, so many forced fastings, so many superflu-
" ous festivals, those perpetual bellowings (meaning the
" singing and chanting) of unlearned men, and the ob-
" servations of the other ceremonies, manifestly hinder-
" ing the teaching and learning of the word, are diabo-
" lical inventions.

" The marriage of priests is lawful and necessary."

Much hath been written in censure and commendation of this sect both by enemies and friends, by papists and protestants. If they have ben grosly misrepresented and vilified on one side, they have been amply vindicated and justified on the other; but I will only produce the testimonies of three witnesses concerning them, whom both sides must allow to be unexceptionable, Reinerius, Thuanus,

and Mezeray. Reinerius * flourished about the year 1254; and his teſtimony is the more remarkable, as he was a Dominican, and inquiſitor general. "Among all the ſects, which ſtill are or have been, there is not any more pernicious to the church than that of the Leoniſts. And this for three reaſons. The firſt is, becauſe it is older; for ſome ſay that it hath endured from the time of Pope Sylveſter; others, from the time of the Apoſtles. The ſecond, becauſe it is more general; for there is ſcarce any country wherein this ſect is not. The third, becauſe when all other ſects beget horror in the hearers by the outrageouſneſs of their blaſphemies againſt God, this

* Inter omnes ſectas, quæ adhuc ſunt vel fuerunt, non eſt pernicioſor eccleſiæ quam Leoniſtarum. Et hoc tribus decauſis. Prima eſt, quia eſt diuturnior; aliqui enim deſunt, quod duraverit a tempore Sylveſtri; aliqui, a tempore apoſtolorum. Secunda, quia eſt generalior; fere enim nulla eſt terra, in qua hæc ſecta non ſit. Tertia quia cum omnes aliæ ſectæ immanitate blaſphemiarum in Deum audientibus horrorem inducant hæc Leoniſtarum magnam habet ſpeciem pietatis; eo quod coram hominibus juſte vivant, et bene omnia de Deo credant, et omnes articulos qui in ſymbola continentur; ſolummodo Romanam eccleſiam blaſphemant et clerum; cui multitudo laicorum facilis eſt ad credendum. Reiner. contra Hæret. Cap. 4 p. 54. Edit. Ingolſt. 1613. Uſſer. ibid. Cap. 6. Sect. 11. Cap 8. Sect. 1. Cave Hiſt. Litt. Vol. 2. ad ann. 1244. p. 302. Uſher hath added other remarkable teſtimonies concerning the morals of the Waldenſes and their followers. Pontificius quidam inquiſitor (Rerum Bohem Script. a Frehero edit p. 231.) Leoniſtarum ſive Waldenſium mores deſcripturus, hujuſmodi utitur præfatiuncula: "Cognoſcuntur heretici per mores et verba. Sunt enim in moribus compoſiti, et modeſti; ſuperbiam in veſtibus non habent, &c." Miſerrima profecto tempora in quibus compoſiti et modeſti mores haereticorum haberentur inſignia. De iiſdem claudius Seyſſillius archiepiſcopus Taurinenſis; (Seyſſil tract. adverſus errores et ſectam Waldenſium. Edit. Paris. an. 1520. fol. 9.) Nonnihil etiam ad horum Valdenſium confirmandam tolerandamque ſectam confert quod praeter haec quae contra fidem religionemque noſtram aſſumunt, in reliquis ferme puriorem quam cæteri Chriſtiani vitam agunt. Non enim niſi coacti jurant, raroque nomen Dei in vanum proferunt promiſſaque ſua bona fide implent, et in paupertate pars maxima degentes, apoſtolicam vitam doctrinamque ſervare ſe ſolus proteſtantur: ob idque poteſtatem eccleſiae apud ſe, velut nexios et veros Chriſti diſcipulos, reſidere affirmant; pro cujus fide religioneque in egeſtate vivere, et a nobis perſecutionem pati pulchrum et glorioſum ducunt. Fratribus Bohemis, Waldenſium ſoboluit, non diſſimile perhibuit teſtimonium, qui fidei ipſorum fuit inimiciſſimus. Jacobus Lickenſtenius Dominicanus.) Citatus a Joachim Camerario de eccleſ. Fratr. Bohem.) Dico (inquit) quod in moribus et vita boni ſunt, veraces in ſermone, in caritate

this of the Leonists hath a great shew of piety; because they live justly before men, and believe all things rightly concerning God, and all the articles which are contained in the creed; only they blaspheme the church of Rome and the clergy, whom the multitude of the laity is easy to believe." The credit of Thuanus as an historian is too well established to need any recommendation; and he is so candid and impartial, as to distinguish between their real opinions, and those heresies which were falsely imputed to them by their enemies. "Peter Valdo a wealthy citizen of Lyons about the year of Christ 1170 gave name to the Valdenses. He (as Guy de Perpignan, bishop of Elna in Rousillon, who exercised the office of inquisitor against the Valdenses, hath left testified in writing) leaving his house and goods, devoted himself wholly to the profession of the gospel, and took care to have the writings of the prophets and apostles translated into the vulgar tongue—When now in a little time he had many followers about him, he sent them forth as his disciples into all parts to propagate the gospel—Their fixed opinions were said to be these: that the church of Rome, because she hath renounced the true faith of Christ, is the whore of Babylon, and that barren tree, which Christ himself hath cursed, and commanded to be rooted up; therefore we must by no means obey the pope, and the bishops who cherish his errors: that the monastic

* Petrus Valdus locuples civis Lugdunensis anno Christi circiter MCLXX Valdensibus nomen dedit. Is (ut monumentis testatum reliquit Vidus Perpinianus præsul Elnensis, qui qua sitoris in Valdenses munus exercuit) domo ac bonis relictis totum se evangelicæ professioni devoverat, et prophetarum atque apostolorum scripta populari lingua vertenda curaveret—Cum jam multos sectatores exiguo tempore circa se haberet, eos tanquam discipulos ad evangeliam promulgandum in omnes partis ablegat—Eorum hæc dogmata ferebantur; Ecclesiam Romanum, quoniam veræ Christi fidei renunciaverit, Babylonicam mereticem esse, et arborem illam sterilem, quam ipse Christus diris devovit et revellendameſſe præcipit; pro nde mindme parendum pontifici et episcopis, qui ejus errores fovent: monasticam vitam ecclesiae sentinam ac Plutonium esse; vana illius vota, nec nisi fædis puerorum amoribus servientia: presbyterii ordines magnæ bestiæ, quae in Apocalypsi commemoratur notas esse; ignem purgatorium, solemne sacrum, templorum encaenia, cultum sanctorum, ac pro mortuis propitiatorium, Satanae commenta esse. His præcipuis ac certis eorum doctrinae capitibus alia afficta, de conjugio, resurrectione, animae statu post mortem, et de cibis.

Thuani Hist. lib. 6. sect. 16. Vol. [illegible] Edit. Paris.

monaſtic life is the link of the chain, and an hellish inſtitution; its vows are vain and abſurd, only to the filthy love of boys; the orders of the preſbytery are the marks of the great beaſt, which is numbered in the Apocalyps; the fire of purgatory, the ſacrifice of the maſs, the feaſt of the dedications of churches, the worſhip of ſaints, and propitiations for the dead, are inventions of Satan. To theſe the principal and certain heads of their doctrine, others were feigned and added, concerning marriage, the reſurrection, the ſtate of the ſoul after death, and concerning meats." Mezeray, the celebrated hiſtoriographer of France, is ſhort, but full to our purpoſe; for * he ſaith, that "they had almoſt the ſame opinions as thoſe who are now called Calviniſts." It cannot be objected that this is proteſtant evidence, for they were all three members of the church of Rome.

In the *thirteenth* century, the Waldenſes and Albigenſes had ſpread and prevailed ſo far, and were prevailing ſtill farther, that the pope thought it neceſſary to exert his utmoſt efforts to ſuppreſs them. For this purpoſe the firſt croiſade was proclaimed of Chriſtians againſt Chriſtians, and the office of inquiſition was erected, the one to ſubdue their bodies, the other to inſnare their ſouls. It is enough to make the blood run cold, to read of the horrid murders and devaſtations of this time, how many of theſe poor innocent Chriſtians were ſacrificed to the blind fury and malice of their enemies. It is † computed that in France alone were ſlain a million: and what was the conſequence of theſe ſhocking barbarities? No writer can better inform us than † the wiſe and moderate hiſtorian

*—avoient a peu près les meſmes opinions que ceux qu'on nomme aujourdhuy Calviniſtes. Abrege Chronol. Philippe Augſt. p. 657. Edit. Amſterdam 1674.

† Vide Mede in Apoc. p. 523.

‡ Contra quos Valdenſes) cum exquiſita ſupplicia parum proſecerent, et remedio, quod intempeſtive adhibitum fuerat, malum exacerbaretur, numeruſque eorum in dies creſceret, juſti tandem exercitus conſcripti ſunt: nec minoris molis bellum quam quod antea noſtri adverſus Saracenos geſſerant, contra eoſdem decretum eſt: cujus is exitus fuit, ut potius cæſi, fugati, bonis ac dignitatibus ubique ſpoliati atque huc illuc diſſipati ſunt, quam erroris convicti reſipuerint. Itaque qui armis ſe initio tutati fuerant, poſtremo armis victi in Provinciam apud nos et Gallicæ ditionis Alpes vicinas confugerunt, latebraſque vitæ ac doctrinæ

hiſtorian Thuanus. "Againſt the Waldenſes (ſaith he) when exquiſite puniſhments availed little, and the evil was exaſperated by the remedy which had been unſeaſonably applied, and their number increaſed daily, at length complete armies were raiſed: and a war of no leſs weight, than what our people had before waged againſt the Saracens, was decreed againſt them: the event of which was, that they were rather ſlain, put to flight, ſpoiled every where of their goods and dignities, and diſperſed here and there, than that convinced of their error they repented. So that they who at firſt had defended themſelves by arms, at laſt overcome by arms fled into Province and the neighbouring Alps of the French territory, and found a ſhelter for their life and doctrine in thoſe places. Part withdrew into Calabria, and continued there a long while even to the pontificate of Pious IV. Part paſſed into Germany, and fixed their abode among the Bohemians, and in Poland and Livonia. Others turning to the weſt obtained refuge in Britain." But there were others in this age, who proceeded not ſo far as the Waldenſes and Albigenſes, and yet oppoſed the church of Rome in many reſpects. At the beginning of this century * Almeric and his diſciples were charged with ſeveral hereſies, and were condemned by the ſecond council of Paris in the year 1209. They might poſſibly hold ſome heterodox opinions; but their great offence was their denying the change of the ſubſtance of the bread and wine in the euchariſt, their oppoſing the worſhip of ſaints, images and relics, and their affirming that the pope was Antichriſt, that Rome was Babylon, and that the prelates were the members and miniſters of Antichriſt: ſo that theſe differed little from the Waldenſes and Albigenſes. William of St Amour, a doctor of the Sorbonne, † wrote a treatiſe 'of the perils of the laſt times,' wherein he applied

ſuæ iis in locis repererunt. Pars in Calabriam conoeſſit, in eaque diu; atque adeo uſque ad Pii IV. pontificatum, ſe continuit. Pars in Germaniam tranſiit, atque apud Bohemos, et in Poloniæ et Levoniæ, larem fixit. Alii ad occidentem verſi in Britannia perfugium habuerunt. Thuani Præfat ad Henric IV. p. 7. Edit. Buckley.

* Dupin XIII. Siecle. Chap. 8. Spanhemii Hiſt. Chriſtian. Sæc. XIII. Cap. 9. Sect. 2.

† Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. Magdeburg. Cent. XIII. Cap. 10. p. 58. Edit. Baſil. 1624. Dupin. ibid. Cap. 7. Spanhem, ibid. Cap. 6. ſect. 1.

plied that the prophecy of St Paul, 2 Tim. iii. 1. 'This know alſo that in the laſt days perilous times ſhall come,' to the mendicant orders and preachers of his time; and it was ſo ſevere a ſatire upon the Dominicans, that pope Alexander IV. condemned it, as containing perverſe ſentiments, contrary to the power and authority of the Roman pontiff and of the other biſhops, and in fine as a book capable of cauſing great ſcandals and troubles in the church. Robert Groſthead, or Greathead, biſhop of Lincoln, * in his ſpeeches and writings inveighed bitterly againſt the corruption and ſuperſtition, the lewdneſs and wickedneſs of the clergy in general, the rapacity and avarice, the tyranny and antichriſtianiſm of pope Innocent IV. in particular. He was alſo no leſs a friend to † civil than to religious liberty, and ordered all the violators of Magna Charta, whoſoever and whereſoever they were within his dioceſe, to be excommunicated. Matthew Paris, a contemporary hiſtorian, hath ‡ related the ſubſtance of his dying diſcourſes, wherein he proves the pope to be an heretic, and deſervedly to be called Antichriſt; and concludes with giving him the character of "refuter of the pope, reprover of prelates, corrector of monks, director of prieſts, inſtructor of the clergy, and in ſhort the hammer to beat down the Romans and to bring them into contempt." It is no marvel that ſuch a man was excommunicated; but he ‖ little regarded the cenſure, and he appealed from the court of Innocent to the tribunal of Chriſt. Not to mention others, Matthew Paris himſelf hath painted in the moſt lively colours the corruptions and abominations of the ſee of Rome, the tyranny, ſuperſtition, ſimony, and wickedneſs of the popes and clergy. A proteſtant hiſtorian could not more freely laſh and expoſe the vices of the times, than he did who was a monk of St Albans.

As 'they are not all Iſrael which are of Iſrael;' ſo neither have all the members of the Romiſh church believed all

* Vide Cent. Magdeburg. Balaeum, Dupin, Cave, Tanner, &c.

† Matt. Paris ad Ann. 1253. p. 874. Edit. Watts. 1646.

‡ Matt. Paris. ibid. Papae redargutor, prælatorum correptor, monachorum corrector, preſbyterorum director, clericorum inſtructor—Romanorum malleus et contemptor, p. 876.

‖ Excommunicatus appellavit a curia Innocentii ad tribunal Chriſti. Henr. de Knyghton. Lib. 2. inter Scriptores X. p. 2436.

all her doctrines. Dante and Petrarch, the former of whom died, and the latter was born as well as died, in the *fourteenth* century, were * severe satyrists upon the times, and wrote freely against the temporal dominion of the pope, and the corruptions of the clergy, treating Rome as Babylon, and the pope as Antichrist: and they probably did more hurt to the court and church of Rome by their wit and raillery, than others by invective and declamation. Peter Fitz Cassiodor, whether a fictious or a real person, * addressed a remonstrance to the church of England against the tyranny, avarice, and exactions of the court of Rome, advising and exhorting the English to shake off the Roman yoke from their necks. Michael Cæsenas and William Occam † exposed the various errors and heresies of John XXII to the number of 77; and secure in the protection of the emperor, they set at nought the thunder of the pope's excommunications. Marsilius, a famous lawyer of Padua, ‡ wrote a treatise intitled *The Defender of Peace*, wherein he advanced the power of the emperor above that of the pope in things spiritual as well as temporal; painted in the strongest colours the pride, ambition, and luxury of the court of Rome; and abundantly proved that the pope had not by divine right the least authority or pre-eminence over other bishops. It is no wonder that the author and his book were condemned together. But there were other and better witnesses than these in this age. It was shewn before from Thuanus, that the Waldenses and Albigenses being persecuted in their own country, fled for refuge into foreign nations, some into Germany, and some into Britain. In Germany they grew and multiplied so fast, notwithstanding the rage and violence of croisaders and inquisitors, that at the beginning of this century ‖ it is computed, that there were eighty thousand of them in Bohemia,

* Spanhemii Hist. Christian Saec. XIV. Cap. 5. sect. 8. et 9. Robertus Gerius et Henricus Wharton in Appendice ad Cave Hist. Litt. p. 9. et 50.

† Appendix ad Cave, p. 10. Collier's Ecclesiast. Hist. Book 5. p. 501, &c.

‡ H. Wharton in Append. ad Cave, p. 20. et 28. Dupin, XIV. Siecle. Chap. 5.

‖ Wharton ibid. p. 26, 27. Dupin, Chap. ibid. 5. et 8.

§ Bzovius ad Ann. 1315. Spanhem ibid. Cap. 6. sect. 1. Dupin, ibid. Chap. 8.

Bohemia, Auſtria, and the neighbouring territories; and they pertinaciouſly defended their doctrines even unto death. Among a variety of other names they were called *Lollards* from * one Walter Lollard, who preached in Germany about the year 1315 againſt the authority of the pope, the interceſſion of ſaints, the maſs, extreme unction, and other ceremonies and ſuperſtitions of the church of Rome; and was burned alive at Cologn in the year 1322. In England alſo they were denominated Lollards, though there was a man more worthy to have given name to the ſect, the deſervedly famous John Wickliff, the honour of his own, and the admiration of all ſucceeding times. Rector only of Lutterworth, he † filled all England, and almoſt all Europe with his doctrine. He began to grow famous about the year 1360 by preaching and writing againſt the ſuperſtitions of the age, the tyranny of the pope, the erroneous doctrines and vicious lives of the monks and the clergy; and eſpecially by defending the royal and eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction againſt the uſurpations of the popes and mendicant friars. The more he oppoſed, the more reaſon he found for oppoſition. He tranſlated the cannonical ſcriptures into the Engliſh language, and wrote comments upon them. He demonſtrated the antichriſtianity of popery, and the abomination of deſolation in the temple of God. He aſſerted the one true ſacrifice of Chriſt, and oppoſed the ſacrifice of the maſs, tranſubſtantiation, the adoration of the hoſt, the ſeven ſacraments, purgatory, prayers for the dead, the worſhip of ſaints and images, and in ſhort all the principal corruptions and ſuperſtitions of the church of Rome. His ſucceſs too was greater than he could have expected. The princes, the people, the univerſity of Oxford, many even of the clergy, favoured and ſupported him, and embraced his opinions. His enemies have charged him with ſeveral heterodox notions; but many years ago was publiſhed *An apology for John Wickliff, ſhewing his conformity with the now church of England, &c. collected out of his written works in the Bodleian library by Thomas James keeper of the ſame, at Oxford* 1608. This truly

* Dupin. ibid. Hofmanni Lex. Spleman, Skinner, &c.

† H. Wharton in Append ad Cave. p. 60, &c. Spanhem, ibid. Cap. 6. Leland, Bale, Tanner, &c. &c.

truly great and good man died of a palsy the last day of the year 1387, but his doctrines did not die with him. His books were read in the public schools and colleges at Oxford, and were recommended to the diligent perusal of each student in the university, till they were condemned and prohibited by the council of Constance in the next century. His followers the Lollards in the year 1395 presented * a remonstrance to the parliament, which contained these with other articles; that when the church of England began to mismanage her temporalities in conformity to the precedents of Rome, faith hope and charity began to take their leave of her communion: that the English priesthood derived from Rome, and pretending to a power superior to angels, is not that priesthood which Christ settled upon his apostles, that enjoining celibacy to the clergy was the occasion of scandalous irregularities in the church; that the pretended miracle of transubstantiation ruins the greatest part of Christendom upon idolatry; that exorcisms and benedictions pronounced over wine, bread, water, the mitre, the cross, &c. have more of necromancy than religion in them; that prayer made for the dead is a wrong ground for charity and religious endowments; that pilgrimages, prayers, and offerings made to images and crosses, are near of kin to idolatry; that auricular confession makes the priests proud, lets them into the secrets of the penitent, gives opportunities for intrigues, and is attended with scandalous consequences, as well as the doctrine of indulgences; that the vow of single life undertaken by women in the church of England is the occasion of horrible disorders, &c. Some false tenets might be contained in the same remonstrance; for alas, who is there that holdeth the truth without any mixture or alloy of error? They denied the infallibilty of the pope, and they could not well pretend to be infallible themselves.

Two things contributed much to the revival of learning in the *fifteenth* century, the Greeks flying with their books from Constantinople which the Turks had taken, and the invention of printing. As learning more revived, so the truth prevailed more; and the more the truth prevailed, the fury of persecution increased in porportione

* Walsingham, Stow, Spelman, Collier's Eccl. Hist. B. 6. p. 596, &c.

Wickliff himſelf had been permitted to die in peace; but after his death his doctrines were condemned, his books were burnt, his very body was dug up and burnt too, by a decree of the council of Conſtance, and the command of pope Martin V, executed by Richard Fleming biſhop of Lincoln. His followers however were not diſcouraged, and many of them witneſſed a good confeſſion even unto death. William Sawtre, pariſh prieſt of St Oſith in London, * hath the honour of being the firſt who was burnt for hereſy in England; which was done in the reign of Henry IV, at the beginning of this century. A few years afterwards Thomas Badby † was convicted of hereſy, and ordered alſo to be burnt in Smithfield. Henry prince of Wales was preſent at his execution; and the poor man ſhewing very ſenſible ſigns of the torment he endured, the prince out of compaſſion commanded the fire to be removed, and promiſed him pardon and a penſion for life, provided he would retract his errors. But Badby being come to himſelf, reſolutely rejected this offer; he choſe rather to die with a good, than to live with an evil conſcience; and ſo the fire was kindled again, and he was conſumed to aſhes. In the next reign Sir John Oldcaſtle, baron of Cobham, ‖ was proſecuted for being the principal patron and abettor of the Lollards. Being examined before the archbiſhop of Canterbury, he declared againſt tranſubſtantiation, penances, the worſhipping of the croſs, the power of the keys: and aſſerted that the pope was Antichriſt and the head of that body, the biſhops were the members, and the friars the hinder parts of the antichriſtian ſociety. He was therefore pronounced a heretic convict, and delivered over to the ſecular power. But before the day fixed for his execution he eſcaped out of priſon; and being charged by his enemies with endeavouring to make an inſurrection, he was outlawed for high treaſon; and being taken afterwards, he was hanged as a traitor, and burnt hanging as an heretic, being the firſt nobleman in England who ſuffered death

* Balæi ſcript. Brit. Cent. 6. No 1. Wharton in Append. ad Cave p. 63 Dupin, Collier, Tanner, &c.

† Fox Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation. Book. 1. Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Book. 7. p. 617, &c. Rapin, &c.

‡ Walſingham, Rapin, Collier ibid. p. 620, &c.

‖ Walſingham, Rapin, Collier ibid. p. 632 &c.

death for the cauſe of religion. It was the great blot and ſtain of Henry the fifth's reign and character, that while he was carrying the glory of the Engliſh arms abroad, he was ſtill perſecuting the poor Lollards at home. But notwithſtanding theſe perſecutions, and the ſevereſt laws and proclamations againſt them, their numbers ſtill increaſed, not only among the people, but even in parliament, not only in England, but even in foreign countries, and eſpecially in Bohemia. For there John † Huſs and Jerome of Prague having received Wickliff's books, advanced and propagated the ſame doctrines; for which they were both condemned to the flames, and ſuffered death with the moſt heroic fortitude. It was a moſt unjuſt ſentence, contrary to all faith and the ſolemn engagement of a ſafe conduct, and drew after it the moſt fatal conſequences. For out of their aſhes a civil war was kindled; the Bohemians revolted againſt the emperor, and maintained and defended their opinions by arms as well as by arguments. What the opinions generally received among the Bohemians were, we may learn with ſome exactneſs from one, who had opportunities of being well informed by living and converſing ſome time among them, and was far from being prejudiced in their favour, Æneas Sylvius, who being afterwards choſen pope aſſumed the name of Pius II. Theſe then were † their opinions according to him, who, we may be certain, would not repreſent them better, if he would not repreſent them worſe than they were in reality.

* Spanhemii Hiſt. Chriſtian Sæc. XV. Cap. 6 et 7. Dupin. Siecle XV. Chap. 7. Lenfant. Hiſt. Conc Piſ. et Conſtance.

† Uſſer de Chriſtian. Eccleſ. ſucceſſione et ſta u. C p. 6. Sect. 16. Allix's Remarks upon the Ancient Church of Piedmont, Chap. 22. Æneas's Sylv. Hiſt Bohem. Cap. 35.

Romanum Præſulem reliquis epiſcopis parem eſſe.

Inter ſacerdotes nullum diſcrimen; preſbyterum non dignitatem, ſed vitæ meritum efficere potiorem.

Animas e corporibus excedentes, aut in æternas e veſtigio pœnas mergi, aut perpetua conſequi gaudia.

Purgatorium ignem nullum inveniri.

Vanum eſſe orare pro mortuis, et avaritiæ ſacerdotalis inventum

Dei et ſanctorum imagines delendas.

Aquarum palmarumque benedictiones irridendas.

Mendicantium religiones malos daemonas inveniſſe

Sacerdotes pauperes eſſe debere, ſola contentos eleemoſyna.

Liberam

" The pope of Rome is equal with other biſhops.
" Among prieſts there is no difference; not dignity,
" but merit giveth the preference.
" Souls departing out of bodies, are immediately ei-
" ther plunged into eternal puniſhments, or attain eter-
" nal joys,
" There is no purgatory fire.
" It is in vain to pray for the dead, and an invention
" of prieſtly covetouſneſs.
The images of God and the ſaints ought to be de-
" ſtroyed.
The bleſſing of water and palm branches is ridicu-
" lous.
" The religion of the Mendicants was invented by e-
" vil demons.
" Prieſts ought to be poor, content with alms alone.
" Everyo ne hath free liberty to preach the word of
" God.
" No capital ſin ought to be tolerated, although for
" the ſake of avoiding a greater evil.

" He.

Liberam cuique predicationem verbi Dei patere.

Nullum capitale peccatum, quantum vis majoris mali vitandi gratia, tolerandum.

Qui mortalis culpae reus ſit, eum neque ſeculari, neque eccleſiaſtica potiri dignitate, neque parendum ei.

Confirmationem, quam chriſmate pontifices inducunt, et extremam unctionem inter eccleſiae ſacramenta minime contineri

Auricularem confeſſionem nugacem eſſe; ſufficere ſua quemque Deo in cubili ſuo conqueri peccata.

Baptiſma fluvialis undae, nulla interjecta ſacri olei mixtura recipiendum.

Cœmeteriorum inanem uſum, quæſtus cauſa repertum; quacunque tegantur tellure humana corpora, nihil diſtare.

Templum Dei late patentis ipſum mundum eſſe; coarctare majeſtatem ejus, qui eccleſias, monaſteria oratoriaque conſtruunt, tanquam propitior in eis divina bonitas inveniatur.

Sacerdotales veſtes, altarium ornamenta, pallas, corporalia calices, patinas, vaſaque hujuſmodi nil habere momenti.

Sacerdotem quocunque loco quocunque tempore ſacrum Chriſti corpus conficere poſſe, petentibuſque miniſtrare; ſufficere, ſi verba ſacramentalia tantum dicat.

Suffragia ſanctorum in caelis cum Chriſto regnantium fruſtra impetrari, quae juvare non poſſunt.

In canonicis horis cantandis dicentiſque fruſtra tempus teri.

Nulla die ab opere ceſſandum, niſi quae Dominica nunc apellatur

Celebritates ſantorum prorſus rejiciendas.

Jejuniis quoque eccleſiis inſtitutis, nihil in eſſe meriti.

"He who is guilty of mortal ſin ought not to enjoy any "ſecular or eccleſiaſtical dignity, nor is he to be obeyed.

"Confirmation, which the biſhops celebrate with a- "nointing, and extreme unction, are by no means con- "tained among the ſacraments of the church.

"Auricular confeſſion is trifling; it is ſufficient for e- "very one in his chamber to confeſs his ſins unto God.

"Baptiſm ought to be celebrated without any mixture "of holy oil.

"The uſe of church-yards is vain, invented for the "ſake of gain; in whatſoever ground human bodies are "buried, it maketh no difference.

"The temple of the great God is the whole world; "they confine his majeſty, who build churches, monaſ- "teries, and oratories, as if the divine goodneſs would "be found more propitious in them.

"Sacerdotal veſtments, ornaments of altars, palls, cor- "porals, chalices, patins and veſſels of this ſort are of no "moment.

"A prieſt in any place, at any time can conſecrate the "body of Chriſt, and adminiſter it to thoſe who deſire it; "it is ſufficient, if he repeat only the ſacramental words.

"The ſuffrages of the ſaints reigning with Chriſt in "heaven are implored in vain, foraſmuch as they cannot "help us.

"The time is conſumed in vain in ſinging and ſaying "the canonical hours.

"We ſhould ceaſe from work on no day, except that "which is now called the Lord's day.

"The feſtivals of ſaints are altogether to be rejected.

"The faſts alſo inſtituted by the church have no me- "rit in them."

Theſe were the opinions of the Bohemians or Huſſites, for which they fought as well as diſputed againſt the pope and emperor. At firſt they were victorious under the conduct of the famous John Ziſka; and when they were beaten at laſt, they retired into the mountains and caves, where they continued diſtinguiſhed by the name of *the Bohemian brethren* till the time of the Reformation. Even in the boſom of the church of Rome there were many good men, who called aloud for a reformation in

faith as well as in morals, in doctrine as well as in diſcipline. One inſtance is more particularly worthy of our attention. Jeronimo Savonarola * was a dominican, celebrated in all Italy, and eſpecially in Florence, for the great purity and ſtrictneſs of his life and doctrine. He preached freely againſt the vices of the age, the luxury avarice and debauchery of the Roman clergy in general, and the tyranny and wickedneſs in particular of pope Alexander VI and his ſon Cæſar Borgia. In his diſcourſes, ſermons and writings, he preſſed the neceſſity of holding a general council, and of making a general reformation: and he wrote particularly a treatiſe † intitled *The lamentation of the ſpouſe of Chriſt againſt falſe apoſtles, or an exhortation to the faithful that they would pray unto the Lord for the renovation of the church.* But what was the fruit and conſequence of all his pious zeal? he was excommunicated, he was impriſoned, he was tortured, he was burnt; which he ſuffered with all poſſible conſtancy on the 23d of May 1498, and in the 46th year of his age. All perſons of any note and eminence bear a double character in the world, and ſo doth Savonarola, his admirers extolling him as the beſt of men and the prophet of God, his enemies reviling him as the worſt of impoſtors, and hypocrites; but if his works may ſpeak for him, they are in the ‡ opinion of Dupin, "full of grace and maxims of piety: he ſpeaketh freely there againſt the vices, and teacheth the moſt pure and the moſt exalted morality."

We are now arrived at the *ſixteenth* century, *ſæculum reformatum* as it hath been called, or the age of reformation. The materials had in great meaſure been collected, and the foundations had been laid deep before, but this age had the happineſs of ſeeing the ſuperſtructure raiſed and completed. All the Chriſtian world almoſt had groaned earneſtly for a reformation: and pope Adrian himſelf

* Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 5. Sect. 3. H. Wharton. in Ap. ad Cave p. 198 &c. Guicciardin. B. 3. toward the end. Phil. de comines B. 8. Chap. 10 Dupin. ibid. Chap. 4. Bayle's Dict. etc.

† *Lamentatio Chriſti ſponsæ adversus Pseudopoſtolos, ſive exhortatio ad fideles, ut precentur Dominum pro renovatione eccleſiæ.* Venet. 1533. et cum vita Savonarolae. Paris. 1674. 8vo. Wharton ibid.

‡ Les ouvrages de cet auteur ſont pleins d'onction et de maximes de piete: il y parle librement contre ſes vices, et y enſeigne la morale la plus pure et la plus relevee. Dupin. ibid

himſelf * acknowledged the neceſſity of it, and promiſed to begin with reforming the court of Rome, as the ſource and origin of evil. Eraſmus and others led the way; and Luther began † publicly to preach againſt the pope's indulgences in the year 1517, which is uſually reckoned the æra of the Reformation. So that during all the dark ages of popery, from the firſt riſe of the beaſt down to the Reformation, there have conſtantly been ſome true and faithful *witneſſes* of Jeſus Chriſt, who, though they may have fallen into ſome errors and miſtakes, (as indeed who is altogether free from them?) yet it may charitably be preſumed, held none which are contrary to the fundamentals of the Chriſtian faith, and deſtructive of ſalvation. Many more there were without doubt than have come to our knowledge; many more might have been collected, and this deduction drawn out into a greater length: but I have ſtudied brevity as much as I well could; and they who are deſirous of ſeeing a larger and more particular account of 'the witneſſes' may find it in ‡ Flaccius Illyricus, in the Centuriators of Magdeburgh, in Uſher, in Allix, in Spanheim, and other authors. Here only ſome of the principal inſtances are ſelected: but this deduction, ſhort and defective as it is, evidently demonſtrates however, that there hath not been that uninterrupted union and harmony, which the members of the church of Rome pretend and boaſt to have been before the Reformation: and at the ſame time it plainly evinces, that they betray great ignorance, as well as impertinence, in aſking the queſtion, *Where was your religion before Luther?* Our religion, we ſee, was in the hearts and lives of many faithful witneſſes; but it is ſufficient, if it was no where elſe, that it was always in the Bible. "The Bible, as Chillingworth ‖ ſays, the Bible only is the religion of proteſtants."

15 And

* Sleidan's Hiſt. of the Reformation, B. 4. Father Paul's Hiſt. of the Council of Trent. B. 1. Sect. 60.

† Sleidan B. 1. Father Paul, B. 1. ſect. 18, &c.

‡ Matthias Flaccius in Catalogo teſtium veritatis. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Magdeburgh. Uſſer de Chriſtian. Eccleſ. ſucceſſione et ſtatu. Allix's Remarks upon the ancient church of Piedmont, and the ancient churches of the Albigenſes. Frederici Spanhemii Hiſt. Chriſtiana et Hiſt. Imaginum.

‖ Chillingworth's Religion of Proteſtants. Cap. 6. ſect. 56.

15 And the ſeventh angel ſounded, and there were great voices, in heaven, ſaying, The kingdoms of this world are become *the kingdoms* of our Lord, and of his Chriſt, and he ſhall reign for ever and ever.

16 And the four and twenty elders which ſat before God on their ſeats, fell upon their faces and worſhipped God,

17 Saying, We give thee thanks, O Lord God almighty, which art, and waſt, and art to come; becauſe thou haſt taken to thee thy great power, and haſt reigned.

18 And the nations were angry, and thy wrath is come, and the time of the dead that they ſhould be judged, and that thou ſhouldſt give rewards unto thy ſervants the prophets, and to the ſaints, and them that fear thy name, ſmall and great, and ſhouldſt deſtroy them which deſtroy the earth.

We are now come to the ſeventh and laſt trumpet, or the third woe trumpet, and the ſeventh trumpet as well as all the trumpets being comprehended under the ſeventh ſeal, and the ſeventh ſeal and all the ſeals being conſtituent parts or members of the ſealed book, it is evident that the ſeventh trumpet cannot any way belong to the little open book, but it is plainly diſtinct from it, the little book being no more than an appendage to the ſixth trumpet, and the contents all comprehended under it, or at leaſt ending with it. 'The forty and two months of the Gentiles treading the holy city under foot, and the 1260 days of the witneſſes propheſying in ſackcloth' are 1260 ſynchronical years, and terminate at the ſame time with the fall of the Othman empire, or the end of the ſixth trumpet or ſecond woe-trumpet. And when 'the ſecond woe is paſt,' it is ſaid, xi. 14. 'behold, the third woe cometh quickly.' At the ſounding of the ſeventh trumpet, ver. 15. 'the third woe' commenceth, which is rather implied than expreſſed, as it will be deſcribed more fully hereafter, 'The third woe' brought 'on the inhabiters of the earth' is the ruin and downfall of the Antichriſtian kingdom; and then, and not till then, according to the heavenly chorus, 'the kingdoms of this world will become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Chriſt, and he ſhall reign for ever and ever. St John, is wrapt

wrapt and hurried away as it were to a view of the happy millennium, without conſidering the ſteps preceding and conducting to it. At the ſame time 'the four and twenty elders,' or the miniſters of the church, ver. 16, 17, 18. are repreſented as praiſing and glorifying God for manifeſting his *power* and *kingdom* more than he had done before: and give likewiſe an intimation of ſome preceding events, as 'the anger of the nations,' Gog and Magog, xx. 8. and the wrath of God diſplayed in their deſtruction, xx. 9. and 'the judging of the dead,' or the general judgment, xx. 12. 'and the rewarding of all the good, ſmall and great,' as well as 'the puniſhing of the wicked.' Here we have only a ſummary account of the circumſtances and occurrences of the ſeventh trumpet, but the particulars will be dilated and inlarged upon hereafter.

And thus are we arrived at the conſummation of all things, through a ſeries of prophecies extending from the apoſtles days to the end of the world. It is this ſeries which has been our clue to conduct us in our interpretation of theſe prophecies: and though ſome of them may be dark and obſcure, conſidered in themſelves, yet they receive light and illuſtration from others preceding and following. All together they are as it were a chain of prophecies, whereof one link depends on, and ſupports another. If any parts remain yet obſcure and unſatisfactory, they may perhaps be cleared up by what the apoſtle himſelf hath added by way of explanation.

XXV.

AN ANALYSIS ON THE REVELATION.

PART II.

MOST of the beſt commentators divide the Apocalyps or Revelation into two parts, 'the book' βιβλιον 'ſealed with ſeven ſeals,' and 'the little book' βιβλαριδιον as it is called ſeveral times. But it happens unluckily, that according to their diviſion, the leſſer book is made

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made to contain as much or more than the larger: whereas in truth 'the little book' is nothing more than a part of 'the ſealed book,' and is added as a codicil or appendix to it. If we were to divide the Revelation, as they would have it divided, into two parts, the former ending with Chap. ix. and the latter beginning with Chap. x. the whole frame of the book would be disjointed, and things would be ſeparated, which are plainly connected together and dependant upon one another. The former part, as they agree, comprehends the book ſealed with ſeven ſeals, which are all opened in order; but the ſeventh ſeal conſiſts of the ſeven trumpets, and of the ſeven trumpets the three laſt are diſtinguiſhed by the name of 'the three woe trumpets;' ſo that the ſeven trumpets, as well as the ſeven ſeals, all belong properly to the former part. Whereas if we were to follow the other diviſion, the trumpets would be divided, the three laſt trumpets would be divided from each other, the ſixth trumpet itſelf would be divided, would begin in the former part of the book, and end in the latter, and the ſeventh trumpet would remain ſeparated from the reſt, which would be a ſtrange interruption of the ſeries and order of the prophecies, and greatly diſturb and confound the courſe of events. The former part inſtead of cloſing with the ſeventh trumpet, would then break off in the middle of the ſixth trumpet: the latter part would then commence under the ſixth trumpet, and after that would follow the ſeventh and laſt trumpet, and after this the general ſubject of the Revelation would be reſumed from the beginning of the Chriſtian æra, which inſtead of coming in after ſo many events poſterior in point of time, ought certainly to be the beginning of the latter part. For we would alſo divide the Revelation into two parts, or rather the book ſo divides itſelf. For the former part proceeds, as we have ſeen in a regular and ſucceſſive ſeries from the apoſtle's days to the conſummation of all things. Nothing can be added, but it muſt fall ſome where or other within the compaſs of this period; it muſt in ſome meaſure be a reſumption of the ſame ſubjects; and this latter part may moſt properly be conſidered as an inlargement and illuſtration of the former. Several things which were only touched upon, and deli-

vered

vered in dark hints before, require to be more copiously handled, and placed in a ſtronger light. It was ſaid that 'the beaſt ſhould make war againſt the witneſſes, and overcome them;' but who or what 'the beaſt' is we may reaſonably conjecture indeed, but the apoſtle himſelf will more ſurely explain. The tranſactions of the ſeventh trumpet are all ſummed up and compriſed in a few verſes, but we ſhall ſee the particulars branched out and inlarged into as many chapters. In ſhort this latter part is deſigned as a ſupplement to the former, to complete what was deficient, to explain what was dubious, to illuſtrate what was obſcure: and as the former deſcribed more the deſtinies of the Roman empire, ſo this latter relates more to the fates of the Chriſtian church.

19 And the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was ſeen in his temple the ark of his teſtament: and there were lightnings, and voices, and thundrings, and an earthquake, and great hail.

This laſt verſe of the eleventh chapter, in my opinion, ſhould have been made the firſt verſe of the twelfth chapter; for it appears to be the beginning of a new ſubject. It is ſomewhat like the beginning of Iſaiah's viſion; vi. 1. 'I ſaw the Lord ſitting upon a throne,' (the ark) 'high and liſted up, and his train filled the temple.' It is ſomewhat like the beginning of St John's prophetic viſions; iv. 1. 2. 'I looked, and behold, a door was opened in heaven; and behold, a throne was ſet in heaven, and one ſat on the throne.' This is much in the ſame ſpirit: 'And the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was ſeen in his temple the ark of his teſtament;' that is, more open diſcoveries were now made, and the myſtery of God was revealed to the prophet. 'Lightnings, and voices, and thundrings, and an earthquake, and great hail' are the uſual concomitants and attendants of the divine preſence, and eſpecially at the giving of new laws and new revelations. So at mount Sinai, Exod. xx. 26, &c. 'there were thunders, and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud, and the whole mount quaked greatly.' So likewiſe in this very book of the Apocalyps, before the opening of the ſeven ſeals, iv.

5. there were 'lightnings, and thundrings, and voices.' So again before the ſounding of the ſeven trumpets, viii. 5. 'there were voices, and thundrings, and lightnings, and an earthquake;' and with as much reaſon they are made in this place the ſigns and preludes of the revelations and judgments, which are to follow. It is no juſt objection, that a new ſubject is ſuppoſed to begin with the conjunction *and*; for this is frequent in the ſtile of the Hebrews; ſome books, as Numbers, Joſhua, the two books of Samuel, and others, begin with *Vau* or *and*; and the ſame objection would hold equally againſt beginning the diviſion with the firſt verſe of the next chapter.

CHAP. XII.

1 AND there appeared a great wonder in heaven, a woman clothed with the ſun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve ſtars:

2 And ſhe being with child, cried, travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered.

3 And there appeared another wonder in heaven, and behold, a great red dragon, having ſeven heads, and ten horns, and ſeven crowns upon his heads.

4 And his tail drew the third part of the ſtars of heaven, and did caſt them to the earth: and the dragon ſtood before the woman which was ready to be delivered, for to devour her child as ſoon as it was born.

5 And ſhe brought forth a man-child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron: and her child was caught up unto God, and to his throne.

6 And the woman fled into the wilderneſs, where ſhe hath a place prepared of God, that they ſhould feed her there a thouſand two hundred and threeſcore days.

St John reſumes his ſubject from the beginning, and repreſents the church, ver. 1, 2. as a woman, and a mother bearing children unto Chriſt. She is 'clothed by the ſun,' inveſted with the rays of Jeſus Chriſt the ſun of righteouſneſs; having 'the moon,' the * Jewiſh new-moon,

* A learned correſpondent obſerves that the Jewiſh religion is aptly compared to the moon, as its light is not its own, but furniſhed by the Chriſtian religion, to which it relates, and wherein its types are accompliſhed.

moons and feſtivals as well as all ſublunary things, 'under her feet; and upon her head a crown of twelve ſtars,' an emblem of her being under the light and guidance of the twelve apoſtles. 'And ſhe being with child, cried, travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered.' St Paul hath made uſe of the ſame metaphor, and applied it to his preaching and propagating of the goſpel in the midſt of tribulation and perſecution, Gal. iv. 19. 'My little children of whom I travail in birth again, until Chriſt be formed in you.' But the words of St John are much ſtronger, and more emphatically expreſs the pangs, and ſtruggles, and torments, which the church endured from the firſt publication of the goſpel to the time of Conſtantine the Great, when ſhe was in ſome meaſure eaſed of her pains, and brought forth a deliverer. Mr Whiſton carries the compariſon farther. (Eſſay on the Revelation, Part 3. Viſion 3.) "For as the time of geſtation from the conception to the birth in women with child, is known to be 40 weeks, or 280 days; ſo it is as well known, that from the firſt riſe of our Saviour's kingdom at his reſurrection and aſcenſion A. D. 33. till the famous proclamation and edict, for the univerſal liberty and advancement of Chriſtianity by Conſtantine and Licinius A. D. 313. which put an end to the pangs of birth in the heavieſt perſecution that ever was then known, was exactly 280 years," reckoning according to the prophetical account a day for a year. At the ſame time 'there appeared,' ver. 3 'a great dragon;' which is the well known ſign or ſymbol of the Devil and Satan, and of his agents and inſtruments. We find the kings and people of Egypt, who were the great perſecutors of the primitive church of Iſrael, diſtinguiſhed by this title in ſeveral places of the Old Teſtament: Pſal. lxxiv. 13. Iſ. li. 9. Ezek. xxix. 3. and with as much reaſon and propriety may the people and emperors of Rome, who were the great perſecutors of the primitive church of Chriſt be called by the ſame name, as they are actuated by the ſame principle. For that the Roman empire was here figured, the characters and attributes of the dragon plainly evince. He is 'a great red dragon:' and purple or ſcarlet was the diſtinguiſhing colour of the Roman emperors, conſuls, and generals; as it hath been ſince of the popes and car-

dinals. His 'ſeven heads,' as the angel afterwards, xvii. 9, 10. explains the viſion, allude to the ſeven mountains upon which Rome was built, and to the ſeven forms of government, which ſucceſſively prevailed there. His 'ten horns' typify the ten kingdoms, into which the Roman empire was divided; and the 'ſeven crowns upon his heads' denote, that at this time the imperial power was in Rome, the high city, as Propertias * deſcribes it, ſeated on ſeven hills, which preſides over the whole world. 'His tail' alſo, ver. 4. 'drew the third part of the ſtars of heaven, and did caſt them to the earth;' that is, he ſubjected the third part of the princes and potentates of the earth: and the Roman empire, as we have ſeen before, is repreſented as 'the third part' of the world. 'He ſtood before the woman, which was ready to be delivered, for to devour her child as ſoon as it was born:' and the Roman emperors and magiſtrates kept a jealous watchful eye over the Chriſtians from the beginning. As Pharaoh laid ſnares for the male children of the Hebrews, and Herod for the infant Chriſt, the ſon of Mary; ſo did the Roman dragon for the myſtic Chriſt, the ſon of the church, that he might deſtroy him even in his infancy. But notwithſtanding the jealouſy and envy of the Romans, the goſpel was widely diffuſed and propagated and the church brought many children unto Chriſt, and in time ſuch as were promoted to the empire. 'She brought forth a man-child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron,' ver. 5. It was predicted, that Chriſt ſhould rule over the nations, Pſal. ii. 9. 'Thou ſhalt break them with a rod of iron, thou ſhalt daſh them in pieces like a potter's veſſel:' but Chriſt, who is himſelf inviſible in the heavens, ruleth viſibly in Chriſtian magiſtrates, princes, and emperors. It was therefore promiſed before to Chriſtians in general, ii. 26, 27. 'He that overcometh, and keepeth my words unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations (And he ſhall rule them with a rod of iron: as the veſſels of a potter ſhall they be broken to ſhivers) even as I received of my Father.' But it ſhould ſeem that Conſtantine was he particularly

* Septem urbs alta jugis, toti quae præſidit orbi.
Propert. Lib. 3. El. 11 ver. 57.

ticularly intended, for whoſe life * the dragon Galerius laid many ſnares, but he providentially eſcaped them all; and notwithſtanding all oppoſition, 'was caught up unto the throne of God;' was not only ſecured by the divine protection, but was advanced to the imperial throne, called 'the throne of God;' for Rom. xiii. 1. 'there is no power but of God; the powers that be, are ordained of God.' He too 'ruleth all nations with a rod of iron:' for he had not only the Romans, who before had perſecuted the church, under his dominion, but alſo † ſubdued the Scythians, Samaritans, and other barbarous nations, who had never before been ſubject to the Roman empire: and as the learned ‡ Spanheim informs us, there are ſtill extant medals and coins of his with theſe inſcriptions, *the ſubduer of the barbarous nations, the conqueror of all nations, every where a conqueror*, and the like. What is added, ver. 6. of 'the woman's flying into the wilderneſs for a thouſand two hundred and threeſcore day's' it is ſaid by way of prolepſis or anticipation. For the war in heaven between Michael and the dragon, and other ſubſequent events, were prior in order of time to the flight of the woman into the wilderneſs: but before the prophet paſſeth on to a new ſubject, he giveth a general account of what happened to the woman afterwards, and entereth more into the particulars in their proper place.

7 And there was war in heaven; Michael and his angels fought againſt the dragon, and the dragon fought and his angels:

8 And prevailed not, neither was their place found any more in heaven.

9 And the great dragon was caſt out, that old ſerpent, called the Devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world: he was caſt out into the earth, and his angels were caſt out with him.

10 And I heard a loud voice, ſaying in heaven, Now is come ſalvation, and ſtrength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power

* Euſeb. de Vita Conſtant. Lib. 1. Cap. 20. Lactant. de Mort. Perſecut. Cap. 24. Auctor ignotus ad calcem Amm. Marcellini. p. 656 Edit. Valeſii Paris 1681.

† Euſeb. de Vita Conſtant. Lib. 4. Cap. 5. &c.

‡ Spanhemii Diſſert. Decima Tertia de Præſtentia et Uſu Numiſm. Antiqu. p. 636, 638. Obſervat. ad Juliani Imp. Orat. I. in laudem. Conſtantii. p 66.

of his Chriſt: for the accuſer of our brethren is caſt down, which accuſed them before our God day and night.

11 And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their teſtimony; and they loved not their lives unto the death.

12 Therefore rejoice, ye heavens, and ye that dwell in them. Woe to the inhabiters of the earth, and of the ſea: for the devil is come down unto you, having great wrath, becauſe he knoweth that he hath but a ſhort time.

It might reaſonably be preſumed, that all the powers of idolatry would be ſtrenuouſly exerted againſt the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, and eſpecially againſt the eſtabliſhment of a Chriſtian on the imperial throne: and theſe ſtruggles and contentions between the Heathen and the Chriſtian religions are repreſented, ver. 7. by 'war in heaven' between the angels of darkneſs and the angels of light. Michael was, Dan. x. 21. xii. 1. the tutelar angel and protector of the Jewiſh church. He performs here the ſame office of champion for the Chriſtian church. He and the good angels, who are 'ſent forth,' Heb. i. 14. 'to miniſter to the heirs of ſalvation,' were the inviſible agents on one ſide, and the devil and all his angels were on the other. The viſible actors in the cauſe of Chriſtianity were the believing emperors and miniſters of the word, the martyrs and confeſſors; and in ſupport of idolatry were the perſecuting emperors and heathen magiſtrates together with the whole train of prieſts and ſophiſts. This conteſt laſted ſeveral years, and the final iſſue of it was, ver. 8, 9. that the Chriſtian prevailed over the heathen religion; the Heathens were depoſed from all rule and authority, and the Chriſtians were advanced to dominion and empire in their ſtead. Our Saviour ſaid unto his diſciples caſting devils out of the bodies of men, Luke x. 18. 'I beheld Satan, as lightening, fall from heaven.' In the ſame figure Satan fell from heaven, and 'was caſt out into the earth,' when he was thruſt of out the imperial throne, 'and his angels were caſt out with him,' not only all the heathen prieſts and officers civil and military were caſhiered, but their very gods and demons, who before were adored for their divinity, became the ſubjects

of

of contempt and execration. It is very remarkable, that Conſtantine himſelf and the Chriſtians of his time, deſcribe his conqueſts under the ſame image, as if they had underſtood that this prophecy had received its accompliſhment in him. Conſtantine himſelf, * in his epiſtle to Euſebius and other biſhops concerning the re-edifying and repairing of churches, ſaith, that "liberty being now reſtored, and *that dragon* being removed from the adminiſtration of public affairs, by the providence of the great God; and by my miniſtry, I eſteem the great power of God to have been made manifeſt even to all." Moreover † a picture of Conſtantine was ſet up over the palace gate, with the croſs over his head, and under his feet *the great enemy of mankind, who perſecuted the church by the means of impious tyrants, in the form of a dragon*, transfixed with a dart through the midſt of his body, and falling headlong into the depth of the ſea: in alluſion, it is ſaid expreſsly, to the divine oracles in the books of the prophets, where that evil ſpirit is called the dragon and the crooked ſerpent. Upon this victory of the church, there is introduced, ver. 10. a triumphant hymn of thankſgiving for the depreſſion of idolatry, and exaltation of true religion: for now it was no longer in the power of the heathen perſecutors, as Satan accuſed holy Job before God, to accuſe innocent Chriſtians before the Roman governors, as the perpetrators of all crimes, and the cauſers of all calamities. It was not by temporal means or arms that the Chriſtians obtained this victory, ver. 11. but by ſpiritual, by the merits and death of their Redeemer, by their conſtant profeſſion of the truth, and by their patient ſuffering of all kinds of tortures even unto

 death:

† Νυνι δε της ελευθεριας αποδοθεισης, και τε δρακοντος εκειθε απο της των πολεων διοικησεως, τε Θεε τε μεγιστε προνοια, ημετερα δ' υπηρεσια εκδιωχθεντος, ηλιμαι και πασι φανεραν γεγενησθαι την Θειαν δυναμιν, κ. τ. λ. Nunc vero cum libertas reſtituta ſit, et draco ille providentia quidem Dei optimi maximi, miniſterio autem noſtro a republicæ adminiſtratione ſubmotus; equidem exiſtimo divinam potentiam omnibus clariſſime innotuiſſe. &c. Euſeb. de Vita Conſtant. Lib. 2. Cap. 46. Socratis Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. Cap. 9. Theodoret. Lib. 1. Cap. 15.

† Euſeb. de Vita Conſtant. Lib. 3. Cap. 3. τον δε ισχυον και πολεμιον θηρα, τον την εκκλησιαν τε Θεε δια της των ανθρωπων πολιορκησαντα τυραννιδος, —εν δρακοντος μορφη. hoſtem illum et inimicum generis humani, qui impiorum tyrannorum opera eccleſiam Dei oppugnaverat, ſub draconis forma.

death: and the blood of the martyrs hath been often called *the ſeed of the church.* This victory was indeed, ver. 12. matter of joy and triumph to the bleſſed angels and glorified ſaints in heaven, by whoſe ſufferings it was in great meaſure obtained; but ſtill new woes are threatened 'to the inhabiters of the earth;' for though the dragon was depoſed, yet was he not deſtroyed; though idolatry was depreſſed, yet was it not wholly ſuppreſſed; there were ſtill many Pagans intermixed with the Chriſtians, and the devil would incite freſh troubles and diſturbances on earth, 'becauſe he knoweth that he hath but a ſhort time,' it would not be long before the Pagan religion ſhould be totally aboliſhed, and the Chriſtian religion prevail in all the Roman empire.

13 And when the dragon ſaw that he was caſt unto the earth, he perſecuted the woman which brought forth the man-*child.*

14 And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle, that ſhe might fly into the wilderneſs, into her place: where ſhe is nouriſhed for a time, and times, and half a time, from the face of the ſerpent.

15 And the ſerpent caſt out of his mouth water as a flood, after the woman; that he might cauſe her to be carried away of the flood.

16 And the earth helped the woman, and the earth opened her mouth, and ſwallowed up the flood, which the dragon caſt out of his mouth.

17 And the dragon was wroth with the woman, and went to make war with the remnant of her ſeed, which kept the commandments of God, and have the teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt.

When the dragon was thus depoſed from the imperial throne, and 'caſt unto the earth,' ver. 13. he ſtill continued to perſecute the church with equal malice, though not with equal power. He made ſeveral attempts to reſtore the Pagan idolatry in the reign of Conſtantine, and afterwards in the reign of Julian; he traduced and abuſed the Chriſtian religion by ſuch writers as Hierocles, Libanius, Eunapius, and others of the ſame ſtamp and character; he rent and troubled the church with hereſies and ſchiſms; he ſtirred up the favourers of the Arians,

and

and eſpcially the kings of the Vandals in Africa, to perſecute and deſtroy the orthodox Chriſtians. Theſe things, as * Euſebius ſaith upon one of theſe occaſions, ſome malicious and wicked demon, envying the proſperity of the church, effected. But the church was ſtill under the protection of the empire, ver. 14. 'and to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle.' As God ſaid to the children of Iſrael, Exod. xix. 4. 'Ye have ſeen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles wings, and brought you unto myſelf;' ſo the church was ſupported and carried as it were on eagle's wings: but the ſimilitude is the more proper in this caſe, an *eagle* being the Roman enſign, and the *two wings* alluding probably to the diviſion that was then made of the eaſtern and the weſtern empire. In this manner was the church protected, and theſe wings were given, 'that ſhe might fly into the wilderneſs,' into a place of retirement and ſecurity, 'from the face of the ſerpent.' Not that ſhe fled into the wilderneſs,' at this time, but ſeveral years afterwards; and there 'ſhe is nouriſhed for a time, and times, and half a time,' that is three prophetic years and a half, which is the ſame period with the 'thouſand two hundred and threeſcore days' or years before mentioned. So long the church is to remain in a deſolate and afflicted ſtate, during the reign of Antichriſt; as Elijah, 1 Kings xvii. xviii. Luke iv. 25, 26. while idolatry and famine prevailed in Iſrael, was ſecretly fed and nouriſhed three years and ſix months in the wilderneſs. But before the woman fled into the wilderneſs, 'the ſerpent caſt out of his mouth, water as a flood, ver. 15. with intent to waſh her away. *Waters* in the ſtyle of the Apocalyps, xvii. 16. ſignify *peoples* and *nations*; ſo that here was a great inundation of various nations, excited by the dragon or the friends and patrons of the old idolatry, to oppreſs and overwhelm the Chriſtian religion. Such appeared plainly to have been the deſign of the dragon, when

* Ταυτα μεν ουν φθονος (forſan φθονερος) τις και πονηρος δαιμων, προς της εκκλησιας βασκαινων αεφθοις κατειργζετο· Haec livor invido, et malignus daemon eccleſiae felicitatem ſemper aegre ferens, in noſtram perniciem machinatus eſt. Euſeb de Vita Conſtant. Lib. 2. Cap. 73.

when * Stilicho, prime miniſter of the emperor Honorius, firſt invited the barbarous heathen nations, the Goths, Alans, Sueves, and Vandals, to invade the Roman empire, hoping by their means to raiſe his ſon Eucherius to the throne, who from a boy was an enemy to the Chriſtians, and threatened to ſignalize the beginning of his reign with the reſtoration of the Pagan, and abolition of the Chriſtian religion. Nothing indeed was more likely to produce the ruin and utter ſubverſion of the Chriſtian church, than the irruptions of ſo many barbarous Heathen nations, into the Roman empire. But the event proved contrary to human appearance and expectation; 'the earth ſwallowed up the flood;' ver. 16. the Barbarians were rather ſwallowed up by the Romans, than the Romans by the Barbarians; the Heathen conquerors inſtead of impoſing their own, ſubmitted to the religion of the conquered Chriſtians; and they not only embraced the religion, but affected even the laws, the manners, the cuſtoms, the language, and the very name of Romans, ſo that the victors were in a manner abſorbed and loſt among the vanquiſhed. This courſe not ſucceeding according to probable expectation, the dragon did not therefore deſiſt from his purpoſe, ver. 17. but only took another method of perſecuting the true ſons of the church, as we ſhall ſee in the next chapter. It is ſaid that he 'went to make war with the remnant of her ſeed, who kept the commandments of God, and have the teſtimony of Jeſus;' which implies that at this time there was only a *remnant*, their corruptions were greatly increaſed, and 'the faithful were miniſhed from among the children of men.'

CHAP. XIII.

1 AND I ſtood upon the ſand of the ſea, and ſaw a beaſt riſe up out of the ſea, having ſeven heads and ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns, and upon his heads the name of blaſphemy.

2 And the beaſt which I ſaw was like unto a leopard, and

* Interea comes Stilicho, Vandaſcrum in bellis, avarae, perfidae et doloſae gentis genere editus, parvipendens quod ſub imperatorei mperabat, Eucherium filium ſuum, ſicut a pleriſque traditur, jam iude Chriſtianorum perſecutionem a puero privatoque meditantem,

and his feet were as *the feet* of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion: and the dragon gave him his power, and his ſeat, and great authority.

3 And I ſaw one of his heads, as it were wounded to death; and his deadly wound was healed: and all the world wondred after the beaſt.

4 And they worſhipped the dragon which gave power unto the beaſt: and they worſhipped the beaſt, ſaying, Who *is* like unto the beaſt? who is able to make war with him?

5 And there was given unto him a mouth ſpeaking great things, and blaſphemies; and power was given unto him to continue forty *and* two months.

6 And he opened his mouth in blaſphemy againſt God, to blaſpheme his name, and his tabernacle, and them that dwell in heaven.

7 And it was given unto him to make war with the ſaints, and to overcome them: and power was given him over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations.

8 And all that dwell upon the earth ſhall worſhip him, whoſe names are not written in the book of life, of the Lamb ſlain from the foundation of the world.

9 If any man have an ear, let him hear.

10 He that leadeth into captivity, ſhall go into captivity: He that killeth with the ſword, muſt be killed with the ſword. Here is the patience and the faith of the ſaints.

Here 'the beaſt' is deſcribed at large, who was only mentioned before: xi. 7. and a *beaſt* in the prophetic ſtile is a tyrannical idolatrous empire. The kingdom of God and of Chriſt is never repreſented under the image of a *beaſt*. As Daniel, vii. 2, 3. beheld 'four great beaſts,' repreſenting the four great empires, 'come up from' a ſtormy *ſea*, that is from the commotions of the world; ſo St John, ver. 1. ſaw this *beaſt* in like manner, 'riſe up out of the ſea.' He was ſaid before, xi. 7. to aſcend ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου 'out of the abyſs or bottomleſs pit;' and it is ſaid

ditantem, in imperium quoque modo ſuſtinere nitebatur. Quamobrem Alaricum, cunctamque Gothorum gentem, &c.—Eucherius, quiad conciliandum ſibi favorem Paganorum, reſtitutione templorum et everſione, eccleſiarum imbuturum ſe regni primordia minabatur, &c. Oroſii Hiſt. Lib. 7. Cap. 38. p. 571. Edit. Havercamp. Vide etiam Jornandem de Rebus Geticis et de Regn. Succeſſ. et Paulum Diaconum. Lib. 13.

ſaid afterwards, xvii. 8. that he ſhall aſcend ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου, 'out of the abyſs *or* bottomleſs pit;' and here it is ſaid to aſcend ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης 'out of the ſea;' ſo that 'the ſea *and* abyſs *or* bottomleſs pit' are in theſe paſſages the ſame. No doubt is to be made, that this beaſt was deſigned to repreſent the Roman empire; for thus far both ancients and moderns, papiſts and proteſtants are agreed: the only doubt and controverſy is, whether it was Rome Pagan or Chriſtian, imperial or papal, which may perhaps be fully and clearly determined in the ſequel.

St John ſaw this beaſt *riſing* out of the ſea, but the Roman empire was riſen and eſtabliſhed long before St John's time; and therefore this muſt be the Roman empire, not in its then preſent, but in ſome future ſhape and form; and it aroſe in another ſhape and form, after it was broken to pieces by the incurſions of the northern nations. The beaſt hath 'ſeven heads and ten horns,' which are the well known marks and ſignals of the Roman empire, the 'ſeven heads' alluding to the ſeven mountains whereon Rome was ſituated, and to the ſeven forms of government which ſucceſſively prevailed there, and the 'ten horns' ſignifying the ten kingdoms into which the Roman empire was divided. It is remarkable, that the dragon had 'ſeven crowns upon his heads,' but the beaſt hath 'upon his horns ten crowns;' ſo that there had been in the mean while a revolution of power from the *heads* of the dragon to the *horns* of the beaſt, and the ſovereignty which before was exerciſed by Rome alone, was now transferred and divided among ten kingdoms: but the Roman empire was not divided into ten kingdoms, till after it was become Chriſtian. Although the heads had loſt their crowns, yet they ſtill retained the name of blaſphemy.' In all its heads, in all its forms of governments, Rome was ſtill guilty of idolatry and blaſphemy. Imperial Rome was called, and delighted to be called, * *the eternal city, the heavenly city, the goddeſs of the earth, the goddeſs*; and had her temples and altars with incenſe and ſacrifices offered up to her: and how the papal Rome likewiſe

* Urbem æternam. Ammian. Marcell. Lib. 14. Cap. 6. p. 19. Edit. Valeſii. Paris. 1681. Urbis ab æternæ, &c. Auſonii. Epigram. 3. de Faſtis. θεανυσταλλὶ Ῥώμη. Athenaei Lib. 1. p. 20. Edit. Caſaubon. Terrarum dea, gentiumque Roma, Cui par eſt nihil, ſecundum

likewiſe hath arrogated to herſelf divine titles and honours, there will be a fitter occaſion of ſhewing in the following part of this deſcription.

As Daniel's fourth beaſt, vii. 6. was without a name, and 'devoured and brake in pieces' the three former: ſo this beaſt, ver. 2. is alſo without a name, and partakes of the nature and qualities of the three former, having 'the body of a leopard,' which was the third beaſt or Grecian empire, and 'the feet of a bear,' which was the ſecond beaſt or Perſian empire, and 'the mouth of a lion,' which was the firſt beaſt or Babylonian empire: and conſequently this muſt be the ſame as Daniel's fourth beaſt, or the Roman empire. But ſtill is not this the ſame beaſt, the ſame empire entirely, but with ſome variation; and * 'the dragon gave him his power' δυναμιν or his armies, 'and his ſeat' θρονον or his imperial throne, 'and great authority' or juriſdiction over all the parts of his empire. 'The beaſt' therefore is the ſucceſſor and ſubſtitute of 'the dragon' or of the idolatrous heathen Roman empire: and what other idolatrous power had ſucceeded to the heathen emperors in Rome, all the world is a judge and a witneſs. 'The dragon having failed in his purpoſe

dum. Martial, Lib. 12. Epigram. 8. Ita Romam, orbis caput, tanquam caeleſte aliquod numen, ſeu *terrarum deam gentiumque* Bilbilitano vate dictam, divinis honoribus, templis, ſacerdotibus, aedituis, ipſo ΘΕΑΣ ΡΩ-ΜΗΣ appellatione, quod plures Graecarum illarum civitatam nummi oſtendant, ſibi condecorandum exiſtimarunt. Quo autem referendum mihi videtur illud *nomen blaſphemiæ*, quod ſeptem capitibus inſcriptum geſtaſſe legitur beſtia in ſacro Revelationum libro, et quod Hieronymus ac Proſper ad *urbis æternæ* appellationem retulerunt, Romae cum alibi, tum in nummis ejus itidem familiarem. Spanhemii Diſſert. Tertia de Praeſtant. et Uſa Numm. Ant ſect. 3. p. 138. Vol. 1.

† Imperium Romano-Papale tunc natum videtur quam papam omnium eccleſiarum caput eſſe dixit Juſtinianus. V. Cod L. 1. T. 1. A. D. 533, et 534. idque non verbo tantum ſignificavit ſed miſſis ad eum epiſcopis quaſi legatis. Id Gregorius I. in fine ſeculi ſexti in epiſcopos Hiſpaniae, Galliae, &c. ſatis ſuperbe exercuit; ſucceſſores ſeculi ſeptimi multo etiam magis. In utroque ſeculo faventibus papis invaluere imaginum cultus, et ſanctorum invocatio: nam hic ipſe Gregorius litaniis inſeruit nomen beatae virginis Mariae. En igitur blaſphemias. Seculo octavo A. D. 727. imperium civile Romae, et ducatus, Romani, excommunicato pulſoque imperatore Graeco, arripuit papa (teſte Anaſtaſio et Sigonio de Regne Italiae L. 3.) Gregorius II. Interea non orthodoxi, i. e. papis diſſentientes, infames, extorres, inteſtabiles, impp. legibus facti ſunt. V. Cod in quo canones æquantur legibus &c. Nonne hæc omnia ſatis clare prateſtant *magnam illam beſtiæ jam ortae poteſtatem a dracone traditam*, &c. Mr Mann's MS.

poſe of reſtoring the old heathen idolatry, delegates his power to the beaſt,' and thereby introduces a new ſpecies of idolatry, nominally different, but eſſentially the ſame' the worſhip of angels and ſaints inſtead of the gods and demigods of antiquity.

Another mark whereby the beaſt was peculiarly diſtinguiſhed, was, ver. 3. one of his heads as it were wounded to death.' It will appear hereafter, that this head was the ſixth head, for 'five were fallen,' xvii. 10. before St John's time: and the ſixth head was that of the Cæſars or emperors, there having been before kings, and conſuls, and dictators, and decemvirs, and military tribunes with conſular authority. The ſixth head was 'as it were wounded to death,' when the Roman empire was overturned by the northern nations, and an end was put to the very name of emperor in Momyllus Auguſtulus: or rather, as the government of the Gothic kings was * much the ſame with that of the emperors with only a change of the name, this head was more effectually 'wounded to death,' when Rome was reduced to a poor dukedom, and made tributary to the exarchate of Ravenna: and Sigonius, who hath written the beſt hiſtory of theſe times and of theſe affairs includes the hiſtory of the Gothic kings in his hiſtory *of the weſtern empire*. But not only one of his heads was as it were wounded to death, but 'his deadly wound was healed.' If it was the ſixth head which was wounded, that wound could not be healed by the riſing of the ſeventh head as interpreters commonly conceive; the ſame head which was wounded, muſt be healed: and this was affected by the pope and people of Rome revolting from the exarch of Ravenna, and proclaiming Charles the Great Auguſtus and emperor of the Romans. Here the wounded imperial head was *healed* again, and hath ſubſiſted ever ſince. At this time, partly through the pope, and partly through the emperor, ſupporting and ſtrengthening each other, the Roman name again became formidable: 'and all the world wondered after the beaſt,' and ver. 4. 'they worſhipped the dragon which gave power unto the beaſt, and they worſhipped the beaſt, ſaying; Who is like unto the beaſt? Who is able

*—regnum veteris imperii ex omnia parte ſimillimum. Sigonius Occidentali Imperio. Lib. 16. Ann. 494.

able to make war with him?' No kingdom or empire was *like* that of the beaſt, it had not parallel upon earth, and it was in vain for any to *reſiſt* or *oppoſe* it, it prevailed and triumphed over all; and *all the world* in ſubmitting thus to the religion of the beaſt, did in effect ſubmit again to the religion of the dragon, it being the old idolatry with only new names. The worſhipping of demons and idols is in effect the worſhipping of devils.

Wonderful as the beaſt was, his words and actions, ver. 5—8. are no leſs wonderful. He perfectly reſembles the 'little horn' in Daniel. As the little horn, Dan. vii. 8, 25. hath 'a mouth ſpeaking great things,' and 'ſpake great words againſt the moſt high;' ſo 'there was given unto the beaſt a mouth ſpeaking great things,' and he opened his mouth in blaſphemy againſt God.' As the little horn, Dan. vii. 21; 'made war with the ſaints, and prevailed againſt them' ſo it was given unto the beaſt to make war with the ſaints and to overcome them.' As the little horn proſpered, Dan. 25. 'until a time, and times, and the dividing of time,' that is three prophetic years and a half; ſo 'power was given unto the beaſt to continue,' to practiſe and proſper, 'forty and two months,' which is exactly the ſame portion of time as three years and a half. We ſee that not only the ſame images, but almoſt the ſame words are employed; and the portraits being ſo perfectly alike, it might fairly be preſumed, if there was no other argument, that they were both drawn for the ſame perſon: and having before clearly diſcovered who ſat for the one, we cannot now be at any loſs to determine who ſat for the other. It is the Roman beaſt in his laſt ſtate or under his ſeventh head: and he hath 'a mouth ſpeaking great things and blaſphemies:' and what can be 'greater things and blaſphemies, than the * claims of *univerſal biſhop, infallible judge of all controverſies, ſovereign of kings* and *diſpoſer of kingdoms, vicegerent of Chriſt*, and *God upon earth!* He hath alſo 'power' ποιησαι 'to continue' or rather to practiſe, to prevail, and proſper, 'forty and two months.' Some read ποιησαι πολεμον, to make 'war,' not rightly underſtanding, I ſuppoſe, what was meant by ποιησαι alone:

* See the Introduction to Barrow's Treatiſe of the Pope's Supremacy.

but it ſignifies to *practiſe*, to *prevail*, and *proſper*, as the words עשה and ποιησαι are * uſed by Daniel and the Greek tranſlators. It doth not therefore follow, that the beaſt is *to continue to exiſt* for no longer a term, but he is 'to practiſe, to proſper and prevail forty and two months;' as 'the holy city,' xi. 2. 'is to be trodden under foot of the Gentiles forty and two months,' which are the 1260 days or years of the reign of Antichriſt. But if by 'the beaſt' be underſtood the Heathen Roman empire, the Heathen Roman empire, inſtead of ſubſiſting 1260, did not ſubſiſt 400 years after the date of this prophecy.

After this general account of the blaſphemies and exploits of the beaſt, there follows a ſpecification of the particulars. 'He opened his mouth in blaſphemy againſt God.' Blaſphemy againſt God may be ſaid to be of two kinds, not only ſpeaking diſhonourably of the ſupreme being, but likewiſe attributing to the creature what belongs to the Creator, as in idolatry; which is often the ſenſe of the word in ſcripture; as in Iſaiah, lxv. 7. 'They have burnt incenſe upon the mountains, and blaſphemed me upon the hills: and in ſeveral other places. He 'blaſphemes the name of God' by aſſuming the divine titles and honours to himſelf, and as it is expreſſed in the Wiſdom of Solomon, xiv. 21. 'by aſcribing unto ſtones and ſtocks the incommunicable name.' He 'blaſphemes the tabernacle of God' his temple and his church, by calling true Chriſtians, who are the houſe of God, ſchiſmatics and heretics, and anathematizing them accordingly; or as you may underſtand it, by perverting the parts dedicated to the worſhip of ſaints and angels and glorified ſaints, by idolatrous worſhip and impious adoration; and diſgraces their acts, and vilifies their memories, by fabulous legends and lying miracles.

So much for his blaſphemies nor are his exploits leſs extraordinary. 'It was given unto him to make war with the ſaints and to overcome them:' And who can make

* והשתח וחצליחה και ἐποιησε, και εὐοδωθη. et faciet, et proſperabitur, *and it practiſed and proſpered.* Dan. viii. 12. וחצליח ועשה, και κατευθυνει, και ποιησει, et proſperabitur, et faciet, *and ſhall proſper, and practiſe*, ver 24. וחחשוק ועשה כהם. και ποιησει εν αυτοις, και κατισχυσει. et faciet in eis, et confortabitur, *and ſhall deal againſt them, and ſhall prevail*, Dan. xi. 7. ועשה. και ποιησει. et faciet. *and he ſhall do exploits* ver. 28. See alſo ver. 30.

make any computation, or even name any conception of the numbers of pious Chriſtians, who have fallen a ſacrifice to the bigotry and cruelty of Rome? Mede upon the place,* hath obſerved from good authorities, that in the war with the Albigenſes and Waldenſes there periſhed of theſe poor creatures in France alone *a million*. From the firſt inſtitution of the Jeſuits to the year 1480, that is in little more than thirty years, *nine hundred thouſand* orthodox Chriſtians were ſlain. In the Netherlands alone, the Duke of Alva boaſted, that within a few years he had diſpatched to the amount of *thirty ſix thouſand ſouls*, and theſe all by the hand of the common executioner. In the ſpace of ſcarce thirty years, the inquiſition deſtroyed by various kinds of tortures *a hundred and fifty thouſand* Chriſtians. Sanders himſelf confeſſes, that an innumerable multitude of Lollards and Sacramentarians were burnt throughout all Europe, who yet he ſays were not put to death by the pope and biſhops, but by the civil magiſtrates; which perfectly agrees with this prophecy, for of 'the ſecular beaſt' it is ſaid, that he ſhould 'make war with the ſaints, and overcome them.' No wonder that by theſe means he ſhould obtain an univerſal authority 'over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations,' and eſtabliſh his dominion in all the countries of the weſtern Roman empire: and they ſhould not only ſubmit to his decrees, but even adore his perſon, except the faithful few, whoſe names, as citizens of heaven, were inrolled in the regiſters of life. Let the Romaniſts boaſt therefore that

* Prima ejus expeditio incubuit in Albigenſes et Waldenſes, et ſi quo alio nomine tunc appellati ſint veri Chriſti cultores: quorum tanta ſtrages edita fuit ut per Galliam ſolam, ſi P. Perionius in ejus belli hiſtoria recte calculum inierit, occiſa ſint ad decies centena hominum millia.—Ab origine Jeſuitarum, ad annum 1480, hoc eſt, paulo pluribus quam 30 annis, orthodoxorum nongenta fere millia fuiſſe trucidata, notat Balduinus de Antichriſto. In Belgio ſolo, idque manu ſolum carnificis, ſævus ille pugil Romanæ ſedis dux Albanus, ad 36 animarum millia, ſe authore, intra paucos annos ſublata gloriatus eſt. Teſtatur Vergerius, qui optime novit, Inquiſitionem, ut vocant, hæreticæ pravitatis vixtriginta annorum ſpatio, centum quinquaginta Chriſtianorum millia diverſis afflictionum generibus conſumpſiſſe. Fatetur Sanderus infinitos Lolhardos et Sacramentarios in tota Europa ignibus traditos fuiſſe; quos tamen ait ille non a papae et epiſcopis, ſed a politicis magiſtratibus neci datos fuiſſe. Nimirum, ſic juxta prophetiam rem geri oportuit: nam de ſaeculari beſtia dicitur, quod ſanctis bellum faceret, eoſque vinceret. Mede, p. 503. 404.

theirs is the *catholic church and univerſal empire:* this is ſo far from being any evidence of the truth, that it is the very brand infixed by the Spirit of prophecy.

It was cuſtomary with our Saviour, when he would have his auditors pay a particular attention to what he had been ſaying, to add 'He who hath ears to hear, let him hear.' St John repeats the ſame admonition at the end of each of the ſeven epiſtles to the ſeven churches of Aſia, and here in the concluſion of his deſcription of the beaſt, ver. 9. 'If any man have an ear, let him hear:' and certainly the deſcription of the beaſt is deſerving of the higheſt attention upon many accounts, and particularly becauſe the right interpretation of the Apocalyps turneth upon it, as one of its main hinges. It is added by way of conſolation to the church, that theſe enemies of God and of Chriſt, repreſented under the character of the beaſt, ſhall ſuffer the law of retaliation, and be as remarkably puniſhed and tormented themſelves, as they puniſhed and tormented others, ver. 10. 'he who leadeth into acptivity, ſhall go into captivity; He who killeth with the ſword, muſt be killed with the ſword.' Such a promiſe might adminiſter ſome comfort; and indeed it would be wanted; for the patience and faith of the ſaints would be tried to the utmoſt, during the reign of the beaſt. 'Here is the patience and the faith of the ſaints.' Of all the trials and perſecutions of the church this would be the moſt ſevere, and exceed thoſe of the primitive times both in degree and in duration.

11 And I beheld another beaſt coming up out of the earth, and he had two horns like a lamb, and he ſpake as a dragon.

12 And he exerciſeth all the power of the firſt beaſt before him, and cauſeth the earth, and them which dwell therein, to worſhip the firſt beaſt, whoſe deadly wound was healed.

14 And he doeth great wonders, ſo that he maketh fire come down from heaven on the earth in the ſight of men,

14 And deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by *the means* of thoſe miracles which he had power to do in the ſight of the beaſt, ſaying to them that dwell on the earth, that they ſhould make an image to the beaſt which had the wound

wound by a ſword, and did live.

15 And he had power to give life unto the image of the beaſt that the image of the beaſt ſhould both ſpeak, and cauſe that as many as would not worſhip the image of the beaſt, ſhould be killed.

16 And he cauſeth all both ſmall and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads:

17 And that no man might buy or ſell, ſave he that had the mark, or the name of the beaſt, or the number of his name.

18 Here is wiſdom. Let him that hath underſtanding count the number of the beaſt: for it is the number of a man; and his number is ſix hundred threeſcore *and* ſix.

From the deſcription of 'the ten horned beaſt' or Roman ſtate in general, the prophet paſſeth to that of 'the two-horned beaſt' or Roman church in particular. 'The beaſt with ten crowned horns' is the Roman empire as divided into ten kingdoms; 'the beaſt with two horns like a lamb, is the Roman hierarchy, or body of the clergy regular and ſecular. This beaſt is otherwiſe called 'the falſe prophet,' as we ſhall ſee in ſeveral inſtances; than which there cannot be a ſtronger or plainer argument to prove that falſe doctors or teachers were particularly deſigned. For 'the falſe prophet' no more than 'the beaſt' is a ſingle man, but a body or ſucceſſion of men propagating falſe doctrines, and teaching lies for ſacred truths. As the firſt beaſt 'roſe up out of the ſea,' that is, out of the wars and tumults of the world; ſo this beaſt, ver. 11. 'groweth up out of the earth' like plants ſilently and without noiſe; and the greateſt prelates have often been raiſed from monks and men of the loweſt birth and parentage. 'He had two horns like a lamb;' he had, both regular and ſecular the appearance of a lamb; he derived his powers from the lamb' and pretended to be like the lamb all meekneſs and mildneſs. But he ſpake as a dragon,' he had a voice of terror like the dragon or Roman emperors, in uſurping divine titles and honours, in commanding idolatry; and in perſecuting and ſlaying the true worſhippers of God and faithful ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt. He is an eccleſiaſtical perſon, but intermixeth

himſelf much in civil affairs. He is the prime miniſter, adviſer and mover of 'the firſt beaſt,' or the beaſt before mentioned, ver. 12. 'He exerciſeth all the power of the firſt beaſt before him.' He holdeth *imperium in imperio*, an empire within an empire; claimeth a temporal authority as well as a ſpiritual; hath not only the principal direction of the temporal powers, but often engageth them in his ſervice, and enforceth his canons and decrees with the ſword of the civil magiſtrate. As the firſt beaſt concurs to maintain his authority, ſo he in return confirms and maintains the ſovereignty and dominion of the firſt beaſt over his ſubjects; 'and cauſeth the earth, and them who dwell therein, to worſhip the firſt beaſt, whoſe deadly wound was healed.' He ſupports tyranny as he is by tyranny ſupported. He inſlaves the conſciences, as the firſt beaſt ſubjugates the bodies of men. Mr Whiſton well * obſerves, "He is the common centre and cement which unites all the diſtinct kingdoms of the Roman empire; and by joining with them procures them a blind obedience from their ſubjects: and ſo he is the occaſion of the preſervation of the old Roman empire in ſome kind of unity, and name, and ſtrength; which otherwiſe had been quite diſſolved by the inundations and wars ſucceeding the ſettlement of the barbarous nations in that empire."

Such is the power and authority of the beaſt, and now we ſhall ſee what courſes he purſues to confirm and eſtabliſh it. He pretends like other falſe prophets, ver. 13. to ſhew 'great ſigns and wonders' and even to call for 'fire from heaven,' as Elias did. His impoſtures too are ſo ſucceſsful, that ver 14. 'he deceiveth them that dwell on the earth, by the means of thoſe miracles which he hath power to do.' In this reſpect he perfectly reſembles St Paul's 'man of ſin,' 2 Theſſ. ii 9. 'whoſe coming is after the working of Satan with all power, and ſigns, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableneſs of unrighteouſneſs: or rather, they are the one and the ſame character repreſented in different lights, and under different names. It is farther obſervable that he is ſaid to perform his miracles, in the ſight of men' in order to deceive them, and 'in the ſight of the beaſt' in order to ſerve

* Whiſton's Eſſay on the Rev. Part 3. Viſion 5.

ſerve him: but not 'in the ſight of God' to ſerve his cauſe, or promote his religion. Now miracles, viſions, and revelations are the mighty boaſt of the church of Rome: the contrivances of an artful cunning clergy to impoſe upon an ignorant credulous laity. Even *fire* is pretended to 'come down from heaven,' as in the caſe of St Anthony's fire, and other inſtances cited by * Brightman and other writers on the Revelation; and in ſolemn excommunications, which are called the *thunders* of the church, and are performed with the ceremony of caſting down burning torches from on high, as ſymbols and emblems of 'fire from heaven.' Miracles are thought ſo neceſſary and eſſential, that they are reckoned among the notes of the catholic church; and they are alledged principally in ſupport of purgatory, prayers for the dead, the worſhip of ſaints, images, and relics, and the like (as they are called) catholic doctrines. But if theſe miracles were all real, we learn from hence what opinion we ought to frame of them; and what then ſhall we ſay, if they are all fictions and counterfeits? They are indeed ſo far from being any proofs of the true church, that they are rather a proof of a falſe one; they are, as we ſee, the diſtinguiſhing mark of Antichriſt.

The influence of the two-horned beaſt or corrupted clergy, is farther ſeen in perſuading and inducing mankind, ver. 14. to 'make an image to the beaſt, which had the wound by a ſword and did live;' that is, an image and repreſentative of the Roman empire, which was wounded by the ſword of the barbarous nations, and revived in the revival of a new emperor of the weſt. 'He had' alſo 'power,' ver. 15. 'to give life' and activity 'unto the image of the beaſt. It ſhould not be a dumb and lifeleſs idol, but ſhould *ſpeak* and deliver oracles, as the ſtatues of the heathen gods were feigned to do, and ſhould 'cauſe to be killed as many as would not worſhip' and obey it. Some by this 'image of the beaſt' † underſtand "the riſe of the new empire of Charlemain, which was an image of the old Roman empire, and is now become the empire of Germany;" but this is 'the beaſt' himſelf,

* Vide Brightman, et Poli Synopſ. in locum.

† Limborch. Theol. Chriſt. Lib. 7. Cap. 11. Sect. 16. Lord Napier in locum. Whiſton's Eſſay on the Rev. Part. 3. Viſion 6.

himſelf, 'who had the wound by a ſword and did live,' and not 'the image of the beaſt;' the riſe of this new empire was the healing of his deadly wound, by which he lived again. Others more probably * conceive, that this 'image of the beaſt' is 'the office of inquiſition, which was introduced among the blind vulgar, as a popular ſcheme, and warmly recommended by the Dominican and Franciſcan monks, at firſt without any *voice* of command, or *power* of execution; till courts were erected independent of biſhops; and judges, officers, familiars, priſons, and tormentors were appointed, who ſhould put to exquiſite puniſhments, and deliver over to a cruel death all that would not ſubmit with an implicit obedience:" but the office of inquiſition is eſtabliſhed only in ſome particular popiſh countries, and *this* belongs and extends to all in general. 'As many as would not worſhip the image of the beaſt, the image of the beaſt ſhould cauſe to be killed:' but there are many papiſts who do not receive and own the authority of the inquſition and yet the inquiſition doth not attempt to deſtroy and extirpate all ſuch papiſts. What appears moſt probable is, that this *image* and repreſentative 'of the beaſt' is the pope. He is properly 'the idol' of the church. He repreſents in himſelf the whole power of the beaſt, and is the head of all authority temporal as well as ſpiritual. He is nothing more than a private perſon, without power and without authority, till the two-horned beaſt or the corrupted clergy by chooſing him pope *give life* unto him, and enable him to *ſpeak* and utter his decrees, and to 'perſecute even to death as many as refuſe' to ſubmit to him and 'to worſhip him.' As ſoon as he is choſen pope, he is clothed with the pontifical robes, and crowned and placed upon the altar, and the cardinals come and kiſs his feet, which ceremony is called *adoration*. They firſt elect, and then they worſhip him; as in the † medals of Martin V, where two are repreſented crowning the pope, and two kneeling before him, with this inſcription *Quem creant adorant*, *Whom they create they adore*. He is the principle of unity to the ten kingdoms of the beaſt, and

* Vitring. in locum. Mann's Critical notes on ſome paſſages of Scripture, p. 121.

† Bonanni Numiſmat, Pontific. Romanor. Daubua. p. 582.

and cauſeth, as far as he is able, all who will not acknowledge his ſupremacy, to be put to death. In ſhort he is the moſt perfect likeneſs and reſemblance of the ancient Roman emperors, is as great a tyrant in the Chriſtian world as they were in the Heathen world, preſides in the ſame city, uſurps the ſame powers, affects the ſame titles, and requires the ſame univerſal homage and adoration. So that the prophecy deſcends more and more into particulars, from the Roman ſtate or ten kingdoms in general, to the Roman church or clergy in particular, and ſtill more particularly to the perſon of the pope, the head of the ſtate as well as of the church, the king of kings as well as biſhop of biſhops.

Other offices the falſe prophet performs to the beaſt in ſubjecting all ſorts of people to his obedience, by impoſing certain terms of communion, and excommunicating all who dare in the leaſt article to diſſent from them, ver. 16, 17. 'He cauſeth all, both ſmall and great, rich and poor, free and bond,' of whatſoever rank and condition they be, 'to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads:' And he will not permit any man to 'buy or ſell,' or partake of the common intercourſes of life, who hath not 'the mark, or the name of the beaſt, or the number of his name.' We muſt underſtand, that it was * cuſtomary among the ancients, for ſervants to receive the mark of their maſter, and ſoldiers of their general, and thoſe who were devoted to any particular deity, of the particular deity to whom they were devoted. Theſe marks were uſually impreſſed 'on their right hand or on their foreheads;' and conſiſted of ſome hieroglyphic characters, or of the name expreſſed in vulgar letters, or of the name diſguiſed in numerical letters according to the fancy of the impoſer. It is in alluſion to this ancient practice and cuſtom, that the ſymbol and profeſſion of faith in the church of Rome, as ſubſerving to ſuperſtition, idolatry and tyranny, is called 'the mark or character of the beaſt;' which character is ſaid to be received 'in their forehead,' when they make an open and public declaration of their faith, and 'in their right hand,' when they live and act in conformity to it. If any

* Vide Grot. in locum. Cleric. in Levit. XIX. 28. et ſupra omnes Spencerum de Legibus Hebræorum Ritualibus. Lib. 2. Cap 20. Sect. 1, 3, 4.

any diſſent from the ſtated and authorized forms, they are condemned and excommunicated as heretics; and in conſequence of that they are no longer ſuffered to 'buy or ſell;' they are interdicted from traffic and commerce, and all the benefits of civil ſociety. So Roger Hoveden * * relates of William the conqueror, that he was ſo dutiful to the pope, that "he would not permit any one in his power *to buy or ſell* any thing, whom he found diſobedient to the apoſtolic ſee." So the canon of the council of Lateran under Pope Alexander the third, made againſt the Waldenſes and Albigenſes, † injoins upon pain of anathema, that "no man preſume to entertain or cheriſh them in his houſe or land, or *exerciſe traffic* with them." The ſynod of Tours in France under the ſame pope * orders under the like intermination, that "no man ſhould preſume to receive or aſſiſt them, no not ſo much as to hold any communion with them in *ſelling or buying*, that being deprived of the comfort of humanity, they may be compelled to repent of the error of their way." Pope Martain V, in his bull ſet out after the council of Conſtance ‖ commands in like manner, that "they permit not the heretics to have houſes in their diſtricts, or enter into contracts or carry on commerce, or enjoy the comforts of humanity with Chriſtians." In this reſpect, as Mede § obſerves,

* Ut neminem in ſua poteſtate aliquid *emere aut vendere* permiſerit, quem apoſtolicæ ſedi deprehenderit inobedientem. Ex Uſſerio de ſucceſſ. Eccleſ. Cap. 7. Sect. 7. apud Vitring. p. 624. et apud Daubuz. p. 599.

† Ne quis eos in domo vel in terra ſua tenere, vel fovere, vel *negotiationem* cum iis *exercere* præſumat. Ex Tom. 4. Concil. edit. Rom. A. 1612. p. 37. apud Medum. p. 599. apud Vitring. p. 624. et apud Daubuz p. 508.

‡ Ne ubi cogniti fuerint illius hæreſeos ſectatores, receptaculum iis quiſquam in terra ſua præbere, aut præſidium impertiri præſumat; ſed nec in *venditione aut emptione* aliqua cum iis communio habeatur, ut ſolatio ſaltem humanitatis amiſſo, ab errore viæ ſuæ reſipiſcere cogantur. Ex Uſſerio de ſucceſſ. Eccleſ. Cap. 8. Sect. 26. apud Medum et Vitring. et Daubuz. ibid.

‖ Ne hereticos in ſuis diſtrictibus domicilia tenere, contractus inire, negotiationes exercere aut humanitatis ſolatia cum Chriſtianis habere permittant. Ex Pareo apud Daubuz. p. 598.

§ Et quid? nonne hic quoque loquitur pſeudo propheta *ut draco?* Draco enim Diocletianus ſimile edictum edidit, ne quis quidquam Chriſtianis venderet aut ſubminiſtraret, niſi prius thura diis adoleviſſent: de quo in hymno Juſtini Martyris ita canit Beda;

Non

obſerves, the falſe prophet 'ſpake as the dragon.' For the dragon Diocletian publiſhed a like edict, that no one ſhould ſell or adminiſter any thing to the Chriſtians, unleſs they had firſt burnt incenſe to the gods, as Bede alſo rehearſeth in the hymn of Juſtin Martyr; "They had not the power of buying or ſelling any thing, nor were they allowed the liberty of drawing water itſelf, before they had offered incenſe to deteſtable idols." Popiſh excommunications are therefore like heathen perſecutions: and how large a ſhare the corrupted clergy, and eſpecially the monks of former, and the Jeſuits of later times, have had in framing and enforcing ſuch cruel interdicts, and in reducing all orders and degrees to ſo ſervile a ſtate of ſubjection, no man of the leaſt reading can want to be informed.

Mention having been made of 'the number of the beaſt, *or* the number of his name,' (for they are both the ſame), the prophet proceeds to inform us what that number is, leaving us from the number to collect the name, ver. 18. 'Here is wiſdom. Let him that hath underſtanding count the number of the beaſt.' It is not therefore a vain and ridiculous attempt to ſearch into this myſtery, but on the contrary is recommended to us upon the authority of an apoſtle. 'For it is the number of a man; it is a method of numbering practiſed among men; as the meaſure of a man,' xxi. 17. is ſuch a meaſure as men commonly make uſe of in meaſuring. It was a method practiſed among the ancients, to denote names by numbers, as the * name of *Thouth* or the Egyptian Mercury was ſignified by the number 1218; the name of Jupiter, as Ε Αρχη or the beginning of things, by the number 737; and the name of the ſun, as νους good, or ὑης the author of rain, by the number 608. St Barnabas, the companion of

Non illis emendi quidquam
Aut vendendi copia:
Nec ipſam haurire a quam
Dabatur licentia,
Antequam thurificarent
Deteſtandis idolis.

Mede, p. 509.

* Vide Martiani Capellae de Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii, Lib. 2. et 7. in init Daubuz, p 605. Selden's Works, Vol. 3. Part 2. Col. 1402. Of the number 666.

of St Paul, in his * epiſtle diſcovers in like manner the name of Jeſus crucified in the number 318; and other inſtances might be produced, if there was occaſion. It hath been the uſual method in all God's diſpenſations for the Holy Spirit to accommodate his expreſſions to the cuſtoms, faſhions, and manners of the ſeveral ages. Since then this art and myſtery of numbers was ſo much uſed among the ancients, it is leſs wonderful that the beaſt alſo ſhould have his number, 'and his number is ſix hundred and ſixty ſix.' Here only the number is ſpecified; and from the number we muſt, as well as we can, collect the name. Several names poſſibly might be cited, which contain this number: but it is evident, that it muſt be ſome Greek or Hebrew name; and with the name alſo the other qualities and properties of the beaſt muſt all agree. The name alone will not conſtitute an agreement; all other particulars muſt be perfectly applicable, and the name alſo muſt comprehend the preciſe number of 666. No name appears more proper and ſuitable than that famous one mentioned by Irenæus, who lived not long after St John's time, and was the diſciple of Polycarp, the diſciple of John. He ‡ ſaith, that "the name *Lateinos* contains the number of 666; and it is very likely, becauſe the laſt kingdom is ſo called, for they are Latins who now reign: but in this we will not glory:" that is, as it becomes a modeſt and pious man in a point of

Θ —— 9	H —— 8	η —— 8
ω — 800	A —— 1	υ — 400
υ — 400	ϱ — 120	ϛ — 200
θ —— 9	χ — 600	
1218	η —— 8	608
	737	

* Vide S. Barnabæ Epiſt. Cap. 9. Edit. Cotelerii et Clerici. The name of Jeſus was wrote thus abbreviated IHT, IH the two firſt letters of the name. and T as the mark of his croſs.

I ——	10
H ——	8
T ——	300
	318

† Sed et LATEINOS nomen habet ſexcentorum ſexaginta ſex numerum: et valde veriſimile eſt, quoniam doviſſimum regnum hoc habet vocabulum. Latini enim ſunt qui nunc regnant: ſed non in hoc nos gloriabimur. Iren. L. 5. C. 30. p. 449. Ed. Grabe.

of ſuch difficulty, he will not be too confident of his explication, Lateinos with *ei* is the true orthography, as the Greeks wrote the long *i* of the Latins, and as the Latins themſelves * wrote in former times. No objection therefore can be drawn from the ſpelling of the name, and the thing agrees to admiration. For after the diviſion of the empire, the Greeks and other orientaliſts called the peole of the weſtern church or church of Rome *Latins:* and as Dr Henry Moore † expreſſeth it, they *latinize* in every thing. Maſs, prayers, hymns, litanies, canons, decretals, bulls are conceived in Latin. The papal councils ſpeak in Latin. Women themſelves pray in Latin. Nor is the ſcripture read in any other language under popery, than Latin. Wherefore the council of Trent commanded the vulgar Latin to be the only authentic verſion. Nor do their doctors doubt to prefer it to the Hebrew and Greek text itſelf, which was written by the prophets and apoſtles. In ſhort all things are Latin; the pope having communicated his language to the people under his dominion as the mark and character of his empire. They themſelves indeed chooſe rather to be called Romans, and more abſurdly ſtill *Roman Catholics;* and probably the apoſtle, as he hath made uſe of ſome Hebrew names in this book, as *Abaddon*, ix. 11. and *Armageddon*, xvi. 16. ſo might in this place likewiſe allude to the name in the Hebrew language. Now *Romiith* is the ‡ Hebrew name for the *Roman beaſt* or *Roman kingdom*: and this word, as well as the former word *Lateinos*, contains

* So *Ennius* Lib. VI. 26.

Quorum virtutei bellei fortuna pepercit,
Horundem me libertatei parcere certum eſt:

and there are infinite examples beſides.

† Moore's Myſtery of iniquity. Part 2 B. 1. Chap. 15. Sect. 1. et Petri Molinæi Vates. p. 500. &c. Miſſa, preces, hymni, litaniæ, canones, decreta, bullæ, Latine conceptæ ſunt. Concilia papalia Latine loquuntur. Ipſae mulierculae precantur Latine. Nec alio ſermone ſcriptura legitur ſub papatu quam Latine. Quapropter Concilium Tridentinum juſſit ſolam verſionem vulgatam Latinam eſſe authenticam Nec dubitant doctores eam praeferre ipſi textui Hebraico et Graeco, ab ipſis apoſtolis et prophetis exharato. Denique ſunt omnia Latina: nempe Papa populis a ſe ſubactis dedit ſuam linguam, ut ſi imperii natam characterem

‡ רומי *Romi* maſc. רומיית Romiith fem. to agree with חית *beaſt* or תלכות *kingdom*.

tains the juſt and exact number of 666. It is really ſurpriſing that there ſhould be ſuch a fatal coincidence in both names in both languages. Mr Pyle * aſſerts, and I believe he may aſſert very truly, that "no other word in any language whatever, can be found to expreſs both the ſame *number*, and the ſame *thing*."

CHAP. XIV.

1 AND I looked, and lo, a Lamb ſtood on the mount Sion, and with him an hundred forty *and* four thouſand, having his Father's name written in their foreheads.

2 And I heard a voice from heaven, as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of a great thunder: and I heard the voice of harpers harping with their harps:

3 And they ſung as it were a new ſong before the throne, and before the four beaſts, and before the elders; and no man could learn that ſong, but the hundred and forty *and* four thouſand, which were redeemed from the earth.

4 Theſe are they which were not defiled with women; for they are virgins: theſe are they which follow the Lamb whitherſoever he goeth; theſe were redeemed from among men, *being* the firſt fruits unto God, and to the Lamb.

5 And in their mouth was found no guile; for they are without fault before the throne of God.

After this melancholy account of the riſe and reign of the beaſt the Spirit of prophecy delineates by way of oppoſition, the ſtate of the true church during the ſame period, its ſtruggles and conteſts with the beaſt, and the judgments

A	30	ר	200
A	1	ו	6
T	300	ד	40
E	5	י	10
I	10	י	10
N	50	ן	400
O	70		
S	200		666
	666		

* See Pyle's Paraphraſe, p. 104.

judgments of God upon its enemies. Our Saviour is ſeen, ver. 1. as the true *Lamb* of God, not only with horns like a lamb, 'ſtanding on the mount Sion,' the place of God's true worſhip; 'and with him an hundred forty and four thouſand,' the ſame ſelect number that was mentioned before, vii. 4. the genuine offspring of the twelve apoſtles apoſtolically multiplied, and therefore the number of the church, as 666 is the number of the beaſt; and as the followers of the beaſt have the number of the beaſt, ſo theſe have 'the name of God,' and as ſome copies add 'of Chriſt, written in their foreheads,' being his profeſſed ſervants, and the ſame as 'the witneſſes, only repreſented under different figures. The angels and heavenly quire, ver. 2. 3. with loud voices and inſtruments of muſic ſing the ſame 'new ſong' or Chriſtian ſong that they ſung before: Chap. v. 'and no man could learn that ſong, but the hundred and forty and four thouſand; they alone are the worſhippers of the one true God through the one true mediator Jeſus Chriſt; all the reſt of mankind offer up their devotions to other objects, and through other mediators. 'Theſe are they which were not defiled with women: for they are virgins;' ver. 4. they are pure from all the ſtains and pollutions of ſpiritual whoredom or idolatry, with which the other parts of the world are miſerably debauched and corrupted. Theſe are they which follow the Lamb whitherſoever he goeth;' they adhere conſtantly to the religion of Chriſt in all conditions and in all places, whether in adverſity or proſperity, whether in conventicles and deſerts, or in churches or cities. 'Theſe were redeemed from among men,' reſcued from the corruption of the world, and are conſecrated as 'the firſt fruits unto God and the Lamb,' an earneſt and aſſurance of a more plentiful harveſt in ſucceeding times. 'And in their mouth was found no guile;' ver. 5. they 'handle not the word of God deceitfully,' they preach the ſincere doctrine of Chriſt, they are as free from hypocriſy as from idolatry; 'for they are without fault before the throne of God,' they reſemble their bleſſed Redeemer, 'who, 1 Pet. ii. 22. did no ſin, neither was guile found in his mouth;' and are, as the apoſtle requires Chriſtians to be, Philip. ii. 15. 'blameleſs and harmleſs, the ſons of

God without rebuke in the midſt of a crooked and perverſe nation. But poſſibly it may be aſked, Where did ſuch a church ever exiſt, eſpecially before the Reformation: and it may be replied that it hath not exiſted only in idea; hiſtory demonſtrates, as it hath been before evinced, that there have in every age been ſome true worſhippers of God, and faithful ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt; and as Elijah did not know the ſeven thouſand men who had never bowed the knee to Baal, ſo there may have been more true Chriſtians than were always viſible.

6 And I ſaw another angel fly in the midſt of heaven, having the everlaſting goſpel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people.
7 Saying with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to him, for the hour of his judgment is come: and worſhip him that made heaven and earth, and the ſea, and the fountains of waters.

Such is the nature and character of the true Chriſtian church in oppoſition to the wicked Antichriſtian kingdom; and three principal efforts have been made towards a reformation at three different times, repreſented by three angels appearing one after another. 'Another angel,' ver. 6. beſides thoſe who were employed in ſinging, ver. 3. is ſeen 'flying in the midſt of heaven,' and 'having the everlaſting goſpel to preach unto every nation and people;' ſo that during this period the goſpel ſhould ſtill be preached which is ſtiled 'the everlaſting goſpel,' being like its divine Author, Heb. xiii. 8. 'the ſame yeſterday, and to day, and for ever,' in oppoſition to the novel doctrines of the beaſt and the falſe prophet, which, Matt. xv. 13. 'ſhall be rooted up as plants not of the heavenly Father's planting.' This angel is farther repreſented, ver. 7. 'ſaying with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to him, for the hour of his judgment is come.' Prophecy mentions things as come, which will certainly come: and ſo our Saviour ſaid, John xii. 32. 'Now is the judgment of this world;' it is denounced with certainty now, and in due time will be fully executed. But what this angel more particularly

particularly recommends, is the worſhip of the great Creator of the univerſe; 'Worſhip him that made heaven and earth, and the ſea, and the fountains of waters.' It is a ſolemn, and emphatic exhortation to forſake the reigning idolatry and ſuperſtition, and ſuch exhortations were made even in the firſt and earlieſt times of the beaſt. Beſides ſeveral of the Greek emperors who ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the worſhip of images, Charlemain himſelf * held a council at Francfort in the year 794, conſiſting of about 300 French, and German, and Italian, and Spaniſh, and Britiſh biſhops, who condemned all ſort of adoration or worſhip of images, and rejected the ſecond council of Nice, which had authoriſed and eſtabliſhed it. At the ſame time *the Caroline books*, as they are called, four books written by Charles himſelf or by his authority, proving the worſhip of images to be contrary to the ſcripture and to the doctrine and practice of antiquity, were approved by the council, and tranſmitted to the pope. Lewis the Pious, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Charles, † held a council at Paris in the year 824, which ratified the acts of the council of Francfort and the Caroline books, and affirmed that according to the ſcripture and the fathers, adoration was due to God alone. Several private perſons alſo taught and aſſerted the ſame ſcriptural doctrines. Claud, biſhop of Turin, ‡ declares that "we are not commanded to go to the creature, that we may be made happy, but to the Creator himſelf: and therefore we ſhould not worſhip dead men; they are to be imitated, not to be adored: let us together with the angels worſhip one God." Agobard, archbiſhop of Lyons, ‖ wrote a whole book againſt

* Fred. Spanhemii Hiſt. Chriſtian Saec. 8. Cap. 7 et 9. Dupin. Bib. Eccleſiaſt. Tom. 6. paſſim. Voltair's Annals of the Empire. Ann. 794.

† Spanhem. ibid. Saec. 9. Cap. 12. Sect. 2 et Hiſt. Imag. Reſt. Sect. 9. Dupin. ibid. Tom. 7. Chap. 1.

‡ Non jubemur ad creaturam tendere, ut efficiamur beati, ſed ad ipſum creatorem. et ideo non ſit nobis religio cultus hominum mortuorum; honorandi ſunt propter imitationem, non adorandi propter religionem: Unum cum angelis colamus Deum. Apud Spanhem ibid. Saec. 9. Cap. 9. Sect. 7. Vide etiam Dupin. ibid. et Cave Hiſt. Litt. ad ann. 820.

‖ Angeli, vel homines ſancti, amenti honorentur, charitate non ſervitute: Non ponamus ſpem noſtram in homine, ſed in Deo, ne forte

gainſt images, and ſays that "angels or ſaints may be loved and honoured, but not be ſerved and worſhipped: let us not put our truſt in man, but in God, leſt that prophetic denunciation ſhould redound on us, *Curſed is the man, who truſteth in man.*" Many other * biſhops and writers of Britain, Spain, Italy, Germany, and France, profeſſed the ſame ſentiments; and this public oppoſition of emperors and biſhops to the worſhip of ſaints and images in the eighth and ninth centuries, appear to be meant particularly by the loud voice of this firſt 'angel flying aloft,' and calling upon the world 'to worſhip God.' In another reſpect too theſe emperors and biſhops reſemble this 'angel having the everlaſting goſpel to preach unto every nation;' for in their time, and greatly by their means, † the Chriſtian religion was propagated and eſtabliſhed among the Saxons, Danes, Swedes, and many other northern nations.

8 And there followed another angel, ſaying, Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city, becauſe ſhe made all nations drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication.

As the admonitions of the firſt angel had not the proper effect upon the kingdom of the beaſt, the ſecond angel is commiſſioned to proclaim the fall of the capital city, ver. 8. 'And there followed another angel, ſaying, Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city.' By *Babylon* was meant *Rome*, as all authors of all ages and countries agree; but it was not prudent to denounce the deſtruction of Rome in open and direct terms: it was for many wiſe reaſons done covertly under the name of Babylon, which was the great idolatreſs of the earth, and enemy of the people of God, in former, as Rome hath been in latter times. By the ſame figure of ſpeech, that the firſt angel cried that 'the hour of his judgment is come,' this ſecond

forte redundet in nos illud propheticum maledictus homo qui confidit in homine. Lib. de Imag. Cap. 30. apud Spanhem. ibid. Vide etiam Dupin. ibid. Cave ibid. an Ann. 813.

* Spanhem. ibid. Sect. 3. Uſſerius de Eccleſ Chriſtian. ſucceſſione et ſtatu Cap. 2 Allix's Remarks upon the ancient churches of the Albigenſes Cap. 8 et 9.

† Spanhem ibid. Cap. 2.

cond angel proclaims that 'Babylon is fallen;' the ſentence is as certain, as if it was already executed. For greater certainty too it is repeated twice 'Babylon is fallen, is fallen;' as Joſeph ſaid, Gen. xli. 32. 'that the dream was doubled unto Pharaoh twice, becauſe the thing is eſtabliſhed by God, and God will ſhortly bring it to paſs.' The reaſon then is added of this ſentence againſt Babylon,' becauſe ſhe made all nations drink of the wine of her wrath,' or rather 'of the inflaming wine of her fornication.' Her's was a kind of a Circean cup with poiſoned liquour to intoxicate and inflame mankind to ſpiritual fornication. St John in theſe figures copies the ancient prophets. In the ſame manner, and in the ſame words, did Iſaiah foretel the fate of ancient Babylon, xxi. 9. 'Babylon is fallen, is fallen:' and Jeremiah hath aſſigned much the ſame reaſon for her deſtruction, li. 7. 'Babylon hath been a golden cup in the Lord's hand, that made all the earth drunken: the nations have drunken of her wine; therefore the nations are mad.' As by the firſt angel calling upon men to worſhip God, we underſtand the oppoſers of the worſhip of images in the eighth and ninth centuries, ſo by this ſecond angel proclaiming the fall of myſtic Babylon or Rome, we underſtand particularly * Peter Valdo and thoſe who concurred with him in the Waldenſes and Albigenſes; who were the the firſt heralds, as I may ſay, of this proclamation, as they firſt of all in the twelfth century pronounced the church of Rome to be the apocalyptic 'Babylon, the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth;' and for this cauſe not only departed from her communion themſelves, but engaged great numbers alſo to follow their example, and laid the firſt foundation of the reformation. Rome then began to fall; and as the ruin of Babylon was completed by degrees, ſo likewiſe will that of Rome, and theſe holy confeſſors and martyrs firſt paved the way to it.

9 And

* Mede p. 517, 722. &c. Fred. Spanhem. Hiſt. Chriſtian. Saec. 12. Cap. 6.—receſſiſſe a doctrina et praxi recepta Romanae eccleſiae, nuncupaſſe eam *Babylonem*, ac confuſiones omnis matrim; &c. Sect. 4. Thuani Hiſt. Lib. 9. Cap. 16. Eorum haec dogmata ferebantur; Eccleſiam Romanam, quoniam verae Chriſti fidei renunciaverit, *Babylonicam meretricem eſſe* &c. p. 221. Edit. Buckley.

9 And the third angel followed them, ſaying with a loud voice, If any man worſhip the beaſt, and his image, and receive his *mark* in his forehead, or in his hand,

10 The ſame ſhall drink of the wine of the wrath of God which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation; and he ſhall be tormented with fire and brimſtone, in the preſence of the Lamb:

11 And the ſmoke of their torment aſcendeth up for ever and ever, they have no reſt day nor night, who worſhip the beaſt and his image, and whoſoever receiveth the mark of his name.

12 Here is the patience of the ſaints; here *are* they that keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jeſus.

13 And I heard a voice from heaven, ſaying unto me, Write, Bleſſed *are* the dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth, Yea, ſaith the Spirit, that they may reſt from their labours, and their works do follow them.

But not only the capital city, not only the principal agents and promoters of idolatry ſhall be deſtroyed; the commiſſion of the third angel reached farther, and extends to all the ſubjects of the beaſt, whom he conſigns over to everlaſting puniſhment, ver. 9, 10, 11. 'And the third angel followed them, ſaying with a loud voice, If any man worſhip the beaſt and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead or in his hand,' if any man embrace and profeſs the religion of the beaſt, or what is the ſame the religion of the pope; 'the ſame ſhall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, *or rather* of the poiſonous wine of God.' His puniſhment ſhall correſpond with his crime. As he drank of the 'poiſonous wine' of Babylon, ſo he ſhall be made to drink of 'the poiſonous wine' of God, τ᾽ ἀκρατον ἐκπεπωμενον ἀκρατῶ, which is poured out without mixture, *or rather* which is mixt unmixt,' the poiſonous ingredients being ſtronger when mixt with mere or unmixt wine, 'in the cup of his indignation; and he ſhall be tormented day and night for ever and ever.' By this 'third angel following the others with a loud voice' we underſtand principally Martin Luther and his fellow-reformers, who 'with a loud voice' proteſted againſt all the corruptions of the church of Rome, and declared them to be deſtructive

tive of ſalvation to all who obſtinately continue in the practice and profeſſion of them. This would be a time of great trial, ver. 12. 'Here is the patience of the ſaints; here are they who keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jeſus.' And it is very well known, that this was a time of great trial and perſecution; the Reformation was not introduced and eſtabliſhed without much bloodſhed; there were many martyrs in every country. But they are comforted with a ſolemn declaration from heaven, ver. 13. 'And I heard a voice from heaven ſaying unto me, Write, Bleſſed are the dead who die in the Lord, from henceforth,' if they die in the faith and obedience of Chriſt, and more eſpecially if they die martyrs for his ſake: 'Yea, ſaith the Spirit, that they may reſt from their labours,' for immediately upon their deaths they enter into reſt; and their works do follow them,' they enjoy now ſome recompence, and in due time, at the day of judgment, they ſhall receive the full reward of their good works. It is moſt probable that St John alluded to a paſſage in Iſaiah, where the Spirit hath made the like declaration; lvii. 1, 2. 'The righteous periſheth, and no man layeth it to heart; and merciful men are taken away, none conſidering that the righteous is taken away from the evil to come: He ſhall enter into peace: they ſhall reſt in their beds, each one walking in his uprightneſs.' But the greateſt difficulty of all is to account for the words 'from henceforth:' for why ſhould 'the bleſſedneſs of the dead who die in the Lord' be reſtrained to this time, and commence from this period rather than from any other, when they are at all times and in all periods equally bleſſed, and not more ſince this time than before? Commentators here are very much at a loſs, and offer little or nothing that is ſatisfactory: but the difficulty in great meaſure ceaſes, if we apply this prophecy, as I think it ſhould be applied to the Reformation. For from that time, though the 'bleſſedneſs of the dead who die in the Lord' hath not been enlarged, yet it hath been much better underſtood, more clearly *written* and promulgated than it was before, and the contrary doctrine of purgatory hath been exploded and baniſhed from the belief of all reaſonable men. This truth was moreover one of the leading principles of the Reformation.

mation. What firſt provoked Luther's ſpirit was the ſcandalous ſale of indulgences; and the doctrine of indulgences having a cloſe connection with the doctrine of purgatory, the refutation of the one naturally led him to the refutation of the other; and his * firſt work of reformation with his 95 theſes or poſitions againſt indulgences, purgatory and the dependent doctrines. So that he may be ſaid literally to have fulfilled the command from heaven, of 'writing, Bleſſed are the dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth:' and from that time to this, this truth hath been ſo clearly aſſerted, and ſo ſolidly eſtabliſhed that it is likely to prevail for ever.

A learned and ingenious friend refers theſe three proclamations of the three angels to later times, and ſuppoſes that they are an immediate prelude to the fall of Antichriſt and the millennium. But the clue that has principally conducted me through both parts of the Revelation is following the ſeries of hiſtory and the ſucceſſive order of events. After the deſcription of the two beaſts, ſecular and eccleſiaſtical, whoſe power was eſtabliſhed according to my hypotheſis in the eighth century, but according to moſt commentators much ſooner, there would be a very large chaſm without the prediction of any memorable events, if theſe prophecies relate to the time immediately preceding the fall of Antichriſt and the millennium. What a long interval would that be without any prophecy? and how thick would the events follow afterward? for all the particulars not only of this 14th, but likewiſe of the 16th, 18th, and 19th chapters muſt be fulfilled before the commencement of the millennium I can hardly frame, even in imagination, and events which can anſwer more exactly to theſe proclamations of the three angels than the three principal efforts towards a reformation. Charlemain, Valdo, Luther, and their followers, certainly deſerve as exalted characters as are here given them: and it would be very ſtrange that there ſhould be ſo many prophecies relating to the downfal of popery, and yet none concerning the Reformation. He conceives that the church cannot be repreſented in ſuch an

* Sleiden's Hiſt. of the Reform. B. 2. Ann. 1517. Father Paul's Hiſt. of the Council of Trent. B. 1. Sect. 18. Spanhem. Hiſt. Chriſtian Sacc. 16. Cap. 6. Sect. 1.

an attitude of triumph and jubilation, as it is in the former part of this chapter, while it is afflicted and perſecuted during the reign of the beaſt. But the church of this period is not drawn in ſuch an attitude of triumph and jubilation as he imagines; there are ſome intimations of its ſuffering perſecution in this very chapter: and if it was as he imagines, yet why may not the true church be repreſented like the apoſtles and primitive Chriſtians as 'ſorrowful yet always rejoicing,' as 'rejoicing in tribulation,' as 'exceeding joyful in tribulation,' &c.? He farther conceives, that the dead are 'bleſſed from henceforth becauſe they will remain a ſhorter time in the ſeparate ſtate, and be ſooner raiſed again. But why then is not that reaſon aſſigned but quite different ones, 'that they may reſt from their labours, and their works do follow them? Theſe are reaſons which hold equally good at all times, and cannot be reſtrained and limited to any particular time: and therefore I conceive that the words 'frome henceforth' relate not ſo much to the 'bleſſedneſs of the dead,' which is always the ſame, as to the *writing* and promulgating of this doctrine by Luther and the proteſtant reformers.

14 And I looked, and behold, a white cloud, and upon the cloud *one* ſat, like unto the Son of man, having on his head a golden crown, and in his hand a ſharp ſickle.

15 And another angel came out of the temple, crying with a loud voice to him that ſat on the cloud, Thruſt in thy ſickle, and reap: for the time is come for thee to reap; for the harveſt of the earth is ripe.

16 And he that ſat on the cloud, thruſt in his ſickle on the earth; and the earth was reaped.

17 And another angel came out of the temple which is in heaven, he alſo having a ſharp ſickle.

18 And another angel came out from the altar, which had power over fire; and cried with a loud cry to him that had the ſharp ſickle, ſaying, Thruſt in thy ſharp ſickle, and gather the cluſters of the vine of the earth for her grapes are fully ripe.

19 And the angel thruſt in his ſickle into the earth, and gathered the vine of the earth, and caſt it into the great wine-preſs of the wrath

wrath of God.

20 And the wine-preſs was trodden without the city, and blood came out of the wine-preſs, even unto the horſe bridles, by the ſpace of a thouſand *and* ſix hundred furlongs.

But ſtill the voices of theſe three warning angels not having their due influence and effect, the judgments of God will overtake the followers and adherents of the beaſt, which judgments are repreſented under the figures of *harveſt* and *vintage*, ver. 14—20 figures not unuſual in the prophets, and copied particularly from the prophet Joel, who denounced God's judgments againſt the enemies of his people in the like terms; iii. 13. 'Put ye in the ſickle, for the harveſt is ripe; come, get you down, for the preſs is full, the fats overflow, for their wickedneſs is great.' What particular events are ſignified by this *harveſt* and *vintage*, it appears impoſſible for any man to determine, time alone can with certainty diſcover, for theſe things are yet futurity. Only it may be obſerved, that theſe two ſignal judgments will as certainly come, as harveſt and vintage ſucceed in their ſeaſon; and in the courſe of providence the one will precede the other, as in the courſe of nature the harveſt is before the vintage; and the latter will greatly ſurpaſs the former, and be attended with a more terrible deſtruction of God's enemies. It is ſaid, ver. 20. that 'the blood came even unto the horſe-bridles,' which is a ſtrong hyperbolical way of ſpeaking to expreſs vaſt ſlaughter and effuſion of blood; a way of ſpeaking not unknown to the Jews, for * the Jeruſalem Talmud deſcribing the woeful ſlaughter, which the Roman emperor Adrian made of the Jews, at the deſtruction of the city of Bitter, ſaith that "the horſes waded in blood up to the noſtrils." Nor are ſimilar examples wanting even in the claſſic authors: for † Silicus Italicus, ſpeaking of Annibal's deſcent into Italy, uſeth a like expreſſion of "the bridles flowing with much blood."

* In Taanith Fol. 69. Col. 1. Lightfoot's Harmony of the N. T. in Locum. Vide etiam Lcha R II 2. Tribus annis cum dimidio obſidit Adrianus Bitterem —nec. ceſſarunt in ea interficientes, donec mergeretur equus in ſanguine uſque ad os, &c. apud Wetſtein in locum.

† Sil. Ital. 705.

—multoque fluentia ſanguine lora.

blood." The ſtage where this bloody tragedy is acted, " is without the city, by the ſpace of a thouſand and ſix hundred furlongs," which as Mr Mede ‡ ingeniouſly obſerves, is the meaſure of ſtato della chieſa, or the ſtate of the Roman church, or St Peter's patrimony, which reaching from the walls of Rome unto the river Po and the marſhes of Verona, contains the ſpace of 200 Italian miles, which make exactly 1600 furlongs.

CHAP. XV.

1 AND I ſaw another ſign in heaven, great and marvellous, ſeven angels having the ſeven laſt plagues, for in them is filled up the wrath of God.

2 And I ſaw as it were a ſea of glaſs, mingled with fire; and them that had gotten the victory over the beaſt, and over his image, and over his mark, *and* over the number of his name, ſtand on the ſea of glaſs, having the harps of God.

3 And they ſing the ſongs of Moſes the ſervant of God, and the ſong of the Lamb, ſaying, Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord, God almighty; juſt and true *are* thy ways, thou King of ſaints.

4 Who ſhall not fear thee O Lord, and glorify thy name? for *thou* only *art* holy: for all nations ſhall come and worſhip before thee; for thy judgments are made manifeſt.

5 And after that I looked, and behold, the temple of the tabernacle of the teſtimony in heaven was opened:

6 And the ſeven angels came out of the temple, having the ſeven plagues, clothed in pure and white linen, and having their breaſts girded with golden girdles.

7 And one of the four beaſts gave unto the ſeven angels, ſeven golden vials full of the wrath of God, who liveth for ever and ever.

8 And the temple was filled with ſmoke from the glory of God, and from his power, and no man was able to enter into the temple, till the ſeven plagues of the ſeven angels were fulfilled.

‡ —In vicino item locus eſt cui dictus ſtadiorum numerus perinde convenit: puta *ſtato della chieſa*, ſeu eccleſiae Romanae latifundium quod ab urbe Roma uſque ad ultimum Padi oſtium et Paludes Veronenſes porrigitur ſpatio milliarum Italicorum ducentorum, id eſt, ſtadiorum 1600. Mede p. 522.

God's judgments upon the kingdom of the beaſt, or Antichriſtian empire, are hitherto denounced, and deſcribed in general terms under the figures of *harveſt* and *vintage*. A more particular account of them follows under the emblem of 'ſeven vials' which are called, ver. 1. the ſeven laſt plagues, for in them is filled up the wrath of God.' Theſe ſeven laſt plagues muſt neceſſarily fall under the ſeventh and laſt trumpet, or the third and laſt woe-trumpet; ſo that as the ſeventh ſeal contained the ſeven trumpets, the ſeventh trumpet comprehends the ſeven vials. Not only the concinnity of the prophecy requires this order; for otherwiſe there would be great confuſion, and the vials would interfere with the trumpets, ſome falling under one trumpet, and ſome under another: but moreover, if theſe ſeven laſt plagues and the conſequent deſtruction of Babylon be not the ſubject of the third woe, the third woe is no where deſcribed particularly as are the two former woes. When four of the ſeven trumpets had ſounded, it was declared, viii. 13. 'Woe, woe woe, to the inhabitants of the earth, by reaſon of the other voices of the trumpet of the three angels which are yet to ſound.' Accordingly at the ſound of the *fifth* trumpet, xi. 1. commences the woe of the Saracen or Arabian locuſts; and in the concluſion is added, ver. 12. 'One woe is paſt, and behold, there come two woes more hereafter.' At the ſounding of the *ſixth* trumpet, ix. 13. begins the plague of the Euphratean horſemen or Turks; and in the concluſion is added, xi. 14. 'The ſecond woe is paſt, and behold, the third woe cometh quickly.' At the ſounding of the *ſeventh* trumpet therefore, xi. 15, &c. one would naturally expect the deſcription of the 'third woe' to ſucceed: but as it was before obſerved, there follows only a ſhort and ſummary account of the ſeventh trumpet, and of the joyful rather than of the woeful part of it. A general intimation indeed is given of God's 'taking unto him his great power, *and* deſtroying them who deſtroy the earth:' but the particulars are reſerved for this place; and if theſe laſt plagues coincide not with the laſt woe, there are other plagues, and other woes after the laſt; and how can it be ſaid that, 'the wrath of God is filled up in them,' if there are others beſides them? If then theſe ſeven laſt plagues ſynchronize with the ſeventh and

laſt

laſt trumpet, they are all yet to come; for the ſixth trumpet is not yet paſt, nor the woe of the Turkiſh or Othman empire yet ended; and conſequently there is no poſſibility of explaining them in ſuch a manner as when the prophecies may be parallel with hiſtories, or evinced by ocular demonſtration. The many fruitleſs attempts which have hitherto been made to explain them, are a farther proof that they cannot well be explained, the beſt interpreters having failed and floundered in this part more than any other. But before the vials are poured out, the ſcene opens with a preparatory viſion, which is the ſubject of this chapter.

As ſeven angels ſounded the ſeven trumpets, ſo ſeven angels are appointed to pour out the ſeven vials, angels being always the miniſters of providence; and in order to ſhew that theſe judgments are to fall upon the kingdom of the beaſt, the true worſhippers of God and faithful ſervants of Jeſus, who had eſcaped 'victors from the beaſt,' νικωντας εκ του θηριου and had never ſubmitted to his tyranny or religion, are deſcribed, ver. 2, 3, 4. like unto the children of Iſrael after their deliverance and eſcape out of Egypt. For as the children of Iſrael, Exod. xv. having paſſed through the Red Sea, ſtood on the ſhore, and ſeeing their enemies overwhelmed with the waters, ſung the triumphant ſong of Moſes: ſo theſe having paſſed through the fiery trials of this world, 'ſtand on the ſea of glaſs mingled with fire,' which was mentioned before, iv. 6. and ſeeing the vials ready to be poured out upon their enemies, ſing a ſong of triumph for the manifeſtation of the divine judgments; which is called the 'ſong of Moſes and the ſong of the Lamb,' the words in great meaſure being taken from the ſong of Moſes and other parts of the Old Teſtament, and applied in a Chriſtian ſenſe. After this 'the moſt holy place of the temple' is opened ver. 5. and 'the ſeven angels come out of the temple,' ver. 6. to denote that their commiſſion is immediately from God, *clothed* like the high prieſt, but in a more auguſt manner, 'in pure and white linen,' to ſignify the righteouſneſs of theſe judgments, 'and having their breaſts girded,' to ſhew their readineſs to execute the divine commands, 'with golden girdles,' as emblems of their power and majeſty. A vial then is given unto

each of the ſeven angels, ver. 7. 'by one of the four living creatures,' the repreſentatives of the church; by which it is intimated, that it is the vindication of the church and true religion that theſe plagues are inflicted. Moreover 'the temple is filled with ſmoke from the glory of God and from his power,' ſo that 'no man is able to enter into it; ver. 8. in the ſame manner as the tabernacle, when it was conſecrated by Moſes, and the temple when it was dedicated by Solomon, Exod. lx. 34, 35. 1 Kings, viii. 10, 11. were both filled with a cloud and the glory of the Lord, ſo that neither Moſes nor the prieſts could enter therein: a farther proof of the majeſtic preſence and extraordinary interpoſition of God in the execution of theſe judgments.

CHAP. XVI.

1 AND I heard a great voice out of the temple, ſaying to the ſeven angles, Go your ways and pour out the vials of the wrath of God upon the earth.

In obedience to the divine command, ver. 1. the ſeven angels come forth 'to pour out the vials of the wrath of God upon the earth:' and as the *trumpets* were ſo many ſteps and degrees of the ruin of the Roman empire, ſo the *vials* are of the ruin of the Roman church. The one in polity and government is the image of the other; the one is compared to the ſyſtem of the world, and hath her *earth*, and *ſea*, and *rivers* and *ſun*, as well as the other; and this is the reaſon of the ſimilitude and reſemblance of the judgments in both caſes. Some reſemblance too there is between theſe plagues, and thoſe of Egypt. Rome papal hath already, xi. 8. been diſtinguiſhed by the title of 'ſpiritual Egypt,' and reſembles Egypt in her puniſhments as well as in her crimes, tyranny, idolatry, and wickedneſs.

2 And the firſt went, and poured out his vial upon the earth; and there fell a noiſome and grievous ſore upon the men which had the mark of the beaſt, and *upon* them which worſhipped his image.

Vial

Vial the firſt, ver. 2. is 'poured out upon the earth;' and ſo the hail and fire of the firſt trumpet, viii. 7. were caſt upon the earth.' It produceth 'a noiſome and grievous ſore;' and in this reſpect reſembleth the ſixth plague of Egypt, Exod. ix. 10. which was 'boils breaking forth with blains.' This plague is inflicted 'upon the men who had the mark of the beaſt, and upon them who worſhiped his image; which is to be underſtood of the others alſo, where it is not expreſſed. Whether the *ſores* and *ulcers* are natural or moral, the event muſt ſhew.

3 And the ſecond angel poured out his vial upon the ſea; and it became as the blood of a dead man: and every living ſoul died in the ſea.

4 And the third angel poured out his vial upon the rivers and fountains of waters; and they became blood.

5 And I heard the angel of the waters ſay, Thou art righteous, O Lord, which art, and waſt, and ſhall be, becauſe thou haſt judged thus:

6 For they have ſhed the blood of ſaints and prophets, and thou haſt given them blood to drink, for they are worthy.

7 And I heard another out of the altar ſay, Even ſo, Lord God almighty, true and righteous *are* thy judgments.

Vial the ſecond, ver. 3. is 'poured upon the ſea,' and the ſea becomes 'as the blood of a dead man,' or as congealed blood: and in like manner under the ſecond trumpet, viii. 8. the burning mountain 'was caſt into the ſea, and the ſea became blood.' Vial the third, ver. 4. is 'poured out upon the rivers and fountains of waters, and they became blood: and in like manner under the third trumpet, viii. 10. the burning ſtar 'fell upon the rivers and fountains of waters.' There is a cloſe connection between theſe two vials; and the effects are ſimilar to the firſt plague of Egypt, Exod. vii. 19. when 'the waters of Egypt *and* their ſtreams, *and* their rivers, *and* their ponds *and* their pools of water became blood.' *Seas* and 'rivers of blood' manifeſtly denote great ſlaughter and devaſtation: and hereupon, ver. v. 6. 'the angel of the waters,' for it was a prevailing opinion in the eaſt,

that a * particular angel preſided over the waters, as others did over other elements and parts of nature, and mention was made before, xiv. 18. of 'the angel who had power over fire;' this angel of the waters celebrates the righteous judgments of God in adapting and proportioning the puniſhment of the followers of the beaſt to their crime; for no law is more juſt and equitable, than that they who have been guilty of 'ſhedding the blood of ſaints and prophets,' ſhould be puniſhed in the effuſion of their own blood. 'Another angel out of the altar,' ver. 7. for. vi. 9. 'under the altar were the ſouls of them who were ſlain for the word of God and for the teſtimony which they held,' declares his aſſent in the moſt ſolemn manner, 'Even ſo, Lord God almighty, true and righteous are thy judgments:'

8 And the fourth angel poured out his vial upon the ſun; and power was given unto him to ſcorch men with fire.

9 And men were ſcorched with great heat, and blaſphemed the name of God, which hath power over theſe plagues: and they repented not to give him glory.

As the fourth trumpet affected 'the ſun;' viii. 12. ſo likewiſe the fourth vial, ver. 8, 9. is 'poured out upon the ſun.' An intenſe heat enſues; 'and men blaſpheme the name of God, and repent not to give him glory.' Whether by this intenſe heat of the ſun, be meant literally uncommon ſultry ſeaſons, ſcorching and withering the fruits of the earth, and producing peſtilential fever and inflammations; or figuratively, a moſt tyrannical and exorbitant exerciſe of arbitary power by thoſe who may be called 'ſun' in the firmament by the beaſt, the pope or emperor; time muſt diſcover. Men ſhall be tormented, and complain grievouſly; they ſhall like the rebellious Jews, Iſ. xviii. 21. 'fret themſelves, and curſe their kings, and their God, and look upward,' look upward not to pray but only to blaſpheme; they ſhall not have the ſenſe or courage to repent, and forſake their idolatry and wickedneſs. When the events ſhall take place, and theſe things ſhall

* Imo Perſæ exiſtiamant peculiari angelo demandatum eſſe tueri aquas. &c. Hyde de Relig. Vet. Perſarum, Cap. 6. p. 139. Vide etiam Cap. 19.

ſhall all be fulfilled, not only theſe prophecies of the vial ſhall be better underſtood, but alſo thoſe of the trumpets, to which they bear ſome analogy and reſemblance.

10 And the fifth angel poured out his vial upon the ſeat of the beaſt; and his kingdom was full of darkneſs, and they gnawed their tongues for pain,

11 And blaſphemed the God of heaven, becauſe of their pains and their ſores, and repented not of their deeds.

Vial the fifth, ver. 10, 11. is 'poured out upon the ſeat *or* throne of the beaſt, and his kingdom *becomes* full of darkneſs,' as Egypt did, Exod. x. 21. under her ninth plague. This is ſome great calamity which ſhall fall upon Rome itſelf, and ſhall *darken* and confound the whole Antichriſtian empire. But ſtill the conſequences of this plague are much the ſame as thoſe of the foregoing one; for the ſufferers, inſtead of 'repenting of their deeds,' are hardened like Pharaoh, and ſtill perſiſt in their blaſphemy and idolatry, and obſtinately withſtand all attempts of reformation.

12 And the ſixth angel poured out his vial upon the great river Euphrates; and the water thereof was dried up, that the way of the kings of the eaſt might be prepared.

13 And I ſaw three unclean ſpirits like frogs *come* out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beaſt, and out of the mouth of the falſe prophet.

13 For they are the ſpirits of devils, working miracles, which go forth unto the kings of the earth, and of the whole world, to gather them to the battle of that great day of God Almighty.

15 Behold, I come as a thief. Bleſſed *is* he that watcheth, and keepeth his garments, leſt he walk naked, and they ſee his ſhame.

16 And he gathered them together, into a place called in the Hebrew tongue, Armageddon.

Vial the ſixth, ver. 12. is 'poured out upon the great river Euphrates, and the water thereof is dried up,' to prepare a paſſage 'for the kings of the eaſt.' Whether by *Euphrates* be meant the river ſo called, or only a myſ-

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tic Euphrates, as Rome is myſtic *Babylon*; and whether 'by the kings of the eaſt' be meant the Jews in particular, or any eaſtern potentates in general; can be matters only of conjecture, and not of certainty and aſſurance till the event ſhall make the determination. Whoever they be, they appear to threaten the ruin and deſtruction of the kingdom of the beaſt: and therefore * the agents and emiſſaries of popery, ver. 13. 14. 'of the dragon,' the repreſentative of the devil, 'and of the beaſt,' the repreſentative of the antichriſtian empire, and of the falſe prophet,' the repreſentative of the antichriſtian church, as diſagreeable, as loquacious, as ſordid, as impudent † as *frogs*, are employed to oppoſe them, and ſtir up the princes and potentates of their communion to make their united and laſt effort in a religious war. Of neceſſity theſe muſt be times of great trouble and affliction; ſo that an exhortation is inſerted, ver. 15. by way of parentheſis, of the *ſuddenneſs* of theſe judgments, and of the *bleſſedneſs* of *watching*, and of being *clothed* and prepared for all events. Beza conceives that this verſe was transferred hither from the 3d chapter, where it ſhould be ſubjoined to the 18th verſe: but the 3d chapter and 16th chapter are at too great a diſtance for ſuch a tranſpoſition to be made. However it is certain that this inſertion hath in ſome meaſure diſturbed the ſenſe, and broken the connexion of the diſcourſe; for our tranſlators as well as ſeveral others render the following words, ver. 16. 'And he gathered them together,' when the true conſtruction is, 'And they gathered them together,' the evil ſpirits and agents beforementioned gather all the forces of the popiſh princes together, 'into a place called in the Hebrew tongue Armageddon,' that is the 'mountain of deſtruction.'

17 And the ſeventh angel poured out his vial into the air; and there came a great voice out of the temple of heaven, from the throne, ſaying, It is done.

18 And there were voices, and thunders, and lightnings; and there was a great earthquake, ſuch as was

* The *three unclean ſpirits like frogs* Mr Mann conceives to be the Dominicans, Franciſcans, and Jeſuits. Dominicani, Franciſcani, et Loyalitæ *tres impuros ſpiritus ranis ſimiles* non male referunt. M. S.

† Ville Bocharti Hieroz. Part. Poſt. Lib. 5. Cap. 4.

was not ſince men were upon the earth, ſo mighty an earthquake *and* ſo great.

19 And the great city was divided into three parts; and the cities of the nations fell: and great Babylon came in remembrance before God, to give unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceneſs of his wrath.

20 And every iſland fled away, and the mountains were not found.

21 And there fell upon man a great hail out of heaven, *every ſtone* about the weight of a talent: and men blaſphemed God becauſe of the plague of the hail; for the plague thereof was exceeding great.

Vial the ſeventh, ver. 17. is 'poured out into the air,' the ſeat of Satan's reſidence, who is emphatically ſtiled Eph. ii. 2. 'the prince of the power of the air,' and is repreſented, ver. 13. as a principal actor in theſe latter ſcenes; ſo that this laſt period will not only complete the ruin of the kingdom of the beaſt, but will alſo ſhake the kingdom of Satan every where. Upon the pouring out of this vial a ſolemn proclamation is made 'from the throne' of God himſelf. 'It is done;' in the ſame ſenſe as the angel before affirmed, x. 7. that in the days of the ſeventh trumpet the myſtery of God ſhould be finiſhed.' Of this vial, as indeed of all the former, the completion is gradual; and the immediate effects and conſequences are, ver. 18—21. 'voices and thunders, and lightnings, and an earthquake, and great hail. Theſe portend great calamities. 'Voices, and thunders, and lightnings, are the uſual attendants of the Deity, eſpecially in his judgments. 'Great earthquakes' in prophetic language ſignify great changes and revolutions; and this is ſuch an one as men never felt and experienced before, 'ſuch as was not ſince men were upon the earth.' Not only 'the great city is divided into three parts' or factions, but 'the cities of the nations fall' from their obedience to her. Her ſins are remembered before God,' and like another *Babylon* ſhe will ſoon be made to drink of the bitter cup of his anger. Nay not only the works of men, 'the cities fall;' but even the works of nature, 'the iſlands fly away, and the mountains are not found;' which is more than was ſaid before, vi. 14. that they 'were moved out of their places,' and can import no leſs than utter ex-

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tirpation of idolatry. 'Great hail' too often ſignifies the judgments of God, and theſe are uncommon judgments. Diodorus, a grave hiſtorian *, ſpeaketh of hailſtones, which weighed a pound and more; Philoſtorgius mentions hail that weighed eight pounds; but theſe are 'about the weight of a talent,' or about a hundred pounds, a ſtrong figure to denote the greatneſs and ſeverity of thoſe judgments. But ſtill the men continue obſtinate, 'and blaſpheme God becauſe of the plague of the hail;' they remain incorrigible under the divine judgments, and ſhall be deſtroyed before they will be reformed.

CHAP. XVII.

As the 'ſeventh ſeal,' and the 'ſeventh trumpet,' contained many more particulars, than any of the former ſeals, and former trumpets: ſo the 'ſeventh vial' contains more than any of the former vials: and the more you conſider, the more admirable you will find the ſtructure of this book in all its parts. The deſtruction of the Antichriſtian empire is a ſubject of ſuch importance and conſequence, that the Holy Spirit hath thought fit to repreſent it under variety of images. Rome hath already been characterized by the names of 'ſpiritual Egypt *and* Babylon:' and having ſeen how her plagues reſemble thoſe of *Egypt*, we ſhall now ſee her fall compared to that of *Babylon*. It was declared before in general, xiv. 8. 'Babylon is fallen, is fallen; but this is a cataſtrophe deſerving of a more particular deſcription, both for a warning to ſome and for a conſolation to others. But before the deſcription of her fall and deſtruction, there is premiſed an account of her ſtate and condition, that there may be no miſtake in the application. Rome was meant, as all both † papiſts and proteſtants agree; and I think it appears almoſt to demonſtration, that not Pagan but Chriſtian,

μεγας. Et magnitudinis incredibilis grando: minæ enim ponde, et quandoque majores, deciderant. Diodorus Sic. Lib. 19 de Rhodiorum diluvio p. 695. Edit. Steph. p. 689. Edit. Rhodomani. Philoſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. 11, Cap. 7.

* Certiſſimum eſt nomine Babylonis Romam urbem ſignificari. Baronius ad Ann. 45. Johannes in Apocalypſi paſſim Romam vocat Babylonem—Et aperte colligitur ex Cap. Apocalypſeos Bellarmin. de Rom Pontif. Lib. 3. Cap. 13. &c. &c. &c.

ſtian, not imperial but papal Rome was here intended; and the arguments urged to the contrary by the biſhop of Meaux himſelf, the beſt and ableſt advocate for popery, prove nothing ſo much as the weakneſs and badneſs of the cauſe, which they are brought to defend.

1 AND there came one of the ſeven angels which had the ſeven vials, and talked with me, ſaying unto me, Come hither, I will ſhew unto thee the judgment of the great whore, that ſitteth upon many waters:

2 With whom the kings of the earth have commited fornication, and the inhabiters of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication.

3 So he carried me away in the ſpirit into the wilderneſs; and I ſaw a woman ſit upon a ſcarlet-coloured beaſt, full of names and blaſphemy, having ſeven heads, and ten horns.

4 And the woman was arrayed in purple and ſcarlet colour, and decked with gold and precious ſtone and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand full of abominations and filthineſs of her fornicaton.

5 And upon her forehead *was* a name, written MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS, AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH.

6 And I ſaw the woman drunken with the blood of the ſaints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jeſus: and when I ſaw her, I wondered with great admiration.

'One of the ſeven angels, who had the ſeven vials,' v. 1. calleth to St John. Moſt probably this was, the ſeventh angel;' for under the ſeventh vial 'great Babylon came in remembrance before God,' and now St John is called upon to ſee her condemnation and execution. 'Come hither, I will ſhew unto thee the judgment of the great whore, that ſitteth upon many waters. So ancient Babylon, which was ſeated upon the great river Euphrates is deſcribed by Jeremiah, li. 13. as 'dwelling upon many waters: and from thence the phraſe is borrowed, and ſignifies, according to the angels own explanation, ver. 15. ruling over many *peoples*

and

and *nations*. Neither was this an ordinay proſtitute; ſhe was 'the great whore,' ver. 2. 'with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication:' as Tyre, Iſ. xxiii. 17. 'committed fornication with all the kingdoms of the world upon the face of the earth.' Nay, not only 'the kings, but inferior perſons, 'the inhabiters of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication;' as it was ſaid of ancient Babylon, Jer. li. 7. 'the nations have drunken of her wine, therefore the nations are mad.' *fornication* in the uſual ſtile of ſcripture is idolatry; but if it be taken even literally, it is true that modern Rome openly allows the one, as well as practiſes the other. Ancient Rome doth in no reſpect ſo well anſwer the character; for ſhe ruled more with a rod of iron, than with 'the wine of her fornication.' What, and where were the kings, whom ſhe courted and debauched to her communion! What, and where were the people, whom ſhe inveigled and intoxicated with her idolatry? Her ambition was for extending her empire, and not her religion. She permitted even the conquered nations to continue in the religion of their anceſtors, and to worſhip their own gods after their own rituals. She may be ſaid rather to have been corrupted by the importation of foreign vices and ſuperſtitions, than to have eſtabliſhed her own in other countries.

As Ezekiel, while he was a captive in Chaldea, was conveyed by the ſpirit to Jeruſalem, Ezek. viii. 3. ſo St John, ver. 3. 'is carried away in the ſpirit into the wilderneſs;' for there the ſcene is laid, being a ſcene of deſolation. When the woman, the true church, was perſecuted and afflicted, ſhe was ſaid, xii. 14. 'to fly into the wilderneſs:' and in like manner, when the woman, the falſe church, is to be deſtroyed, the viſion is preſented 'in the wilderneſs.' For they are by no means, as ſome have imagined, the ſame woman under various repreſentations. They are totally diſtinct and different characters, and drawn in contraſt to each other, as appears from their whole attire and behaviour, and particularly from theſe two circumſtances; that during the 1260 years while the woman is 'fed in the wilderneſs,' the beaſt and the ſcarlet whore are reigning and triumphant, and at the latter end, the whore is, 'burnt with fire,' when the woman

man as 'his wife, hath made herſelf ready for the marriage of the Lamb. 'A woman ſitting upon a beaſt,' is a lively and ſignificative emblem of a church or city directing and governing an empire. In painting and ſculpture, as well as in prophetic language, cities are often repreſented in the form of women: and Rome herſelf is exhibited * in ancient coins as a woman ſitting upon a lion. Here the beaſt is 'a ſcarlet coloured beaſt,' for the ſame reaſon that the dragon was, xii. 3. 'a red dragon;' to denote his cruelty, and in alluſion to the diſtinguiſhing colour of the Roman emperors and magiſtrates. The beaſt is alſo 'full of names of blaſphemy, having ſeven heads and ten horns;' ſo that this is the very ſame beaſt which was deſcribed in the former part of the 13th chapter: and the woman in ſome meaſure anſwers to the two-horned beaſt or falſe prophet: and conſequently the woman is Chriſtian, and not Pagan Rome; becauſe Rome was become Chriſtian, before the beaſt had completely 'ſeven heads and ten horns,' that is before the Roman empire experienced its laſt form of government, and was divided into ten kingdoms. The woman is arrayed too, ver. 4. 'in purple and ſcarlet colour,' this being the colour of the popes and cardinals, as well as of the emperors and ſenators of Rome. Nay the mules and horſes, which carry the popes and cardinals, are covered with ſcarlet cloth, ſo that they may properly be ſaid to ride 'upon a ſcarlet coloured beaſt.' The woman is alſo 'decked with gold and precious ſtones, and pearls:' and who can ſufficiently deſcribe the pride, and grandeur, and magnificence of the church of Rome in her veſtments and ornaments of all kinds? Alexander Donatus † hath drawn a compariſon between ancient and modern Rome, and aſſerts the ſuperiority of his own church in the pomp and ſplendour of religion. You have a remarkable inſtance in Paul II. of whom ‡ Platina relates, that "in his pontifical veſtments he outwent all his predeceſſors, eſpecially in his *regno* or mitre, upon which he had laid out a great deal of money in purchaſing at vaſt rates, diamonds, ſaphires, emeralds, chryſoliths, jaſpers, u-

* Vitring. p. 757. Emmeneſs. ad Virg. Æn. VI. 854.

† Vitring. p. 759. Donat. de Urbe Roma. Lib. 1. Cap. 19.

‡ Platina's Lives of the Popes tranſlated by Sir Paul Ryeaut, p. 444.

rions, and all manner of precious ſtones, wherewith adorned like another Aaron he would appear abroad ſomewhat more auguſt than a man, delighted to be ſeen and admired by every one. But leſt he alone ſhould ſeem to differ from the reſt, he made a decree, that none but cardinals ſhould under a penalty wear red caps; to whom he had in the firſt year of his popedom given cloth of that colour, to make horſe cloths or mule cloths of when they rode." You have another conſpicuous inſtance in the Lady of Loretto; the * riches of whoſe holy image, and houſe, and treaſury; the golden angels, the gold and ſilver lamps; the vaſt number, variety, and richneſs of the jewels, of the veſtments for the holy image, and for the prieſts; with the prodigious treaſures of all ſorts; are far beyond the reach of deſcription; and as Mr Addiſon ſays, "as much ſurpaſſed my expectation, as other ſights have generally fallen ſhort of it. Silver can ſcarce find an admiſſion, and gold itſelf looks but poorly amongſt ſuch an incredible number of precious ſtones." Moreover the woman, like other harlots who give philters and love-potions to inflame their lovers, hath 'a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations and filthineſs of her fornication;' to ſignify the ſpecious and alluring arts, wherewith ſhe bewitcheth and inciteth men to idolatry, which is 'abomination and ſpiritual fornication.' It is an image copied from Jeremiah, li. 7. 'Babylon hath been a golden cup in the Lord's hand, that made all the earth drunken:' and in that excellent little moral treatiſe, † intitled the Table of Cebes, there is a like picture of Deceit or Impoſtures; "a fair, beautiful, and falſe woman, and having a cup in her hand; ſhe is called Deceit, and ſeduceth all mankind." And is not this a much more proper emblem of pontifical than of imperial Rome?

Yet farther to diſtinguiſh the woman, ſhe has her *name* inſcribed *on her forehead*, ver. 5. in alluſion to the practice of ſome notorious proſtitutes, who had their names written

* See Wright's Travels. p. 132. Addiſon's Travels p. 93.

† γυνη ποικιλαιμενη τω ειδει, και πιθανη φαινομενη, και εν τη χειρι εχουσα ποτηριον τι· Απατη καλειται, ἡ παντας τους ανθρωπους πλανωσα. Mulier fucato vultu, argutaque ſpecie, et manu poculum quoddam tenens Impoſtura vocatur, quae omnes homines ſeducit. Tab. Cebetis non longe ab initio.

written in a label upon their foreheads, as we may * collect from ancient authors. The inſcription is ſo very particular, that we cannot eaſily miſtake the perſon; 'Myſtery, Babylon the great, the mother of harlots, *or rather* of fornications, and abominations of the earth.' Her name *Myſtery* can imply no leſs, than that ſhe dealeth in *myſteries*; her religion is 'a myſtery, a myſtery of iniquity;' and ſhe herſelf is 'myſtically and ſpiritually Babylon the great.' But the title of *myſtery* is in no reſpect proper to ancient Rome, more than any other city: and neither is there any myſtery in ſubſtituting one heathen, idolatrous, and perſecuting city for another; but it is indeed a myſtery, that a Chriſtian city profeſſing and boaſting herſelf to be the city of God, ſhould prove another Babylon in idolatry and cruelty to the people of God. She glories in the name of *Roman Catholic*, and well therefore may ſhe be called 'Babylon the great.' She affects the ſtile and title of 'our holy mother the church,' but ſhe is in truth 'the mother of fornications and abominations of the earth.' Neither can this character with any propriety be applied to ancient Rome; for ſhe was rather a learner of foreign ſuperſtitions, than the miſtreſs of idolatry to other nations; as appears in various inſtances, and particularly from † that ſolemn form of adjuration, which the Romans uſed when they laid ſiege to a city, calling forth the tutelary deities of the place, and promiſing them temples, and ſacrifices, and other ſolemnities at Rome. It may be concluded, therefore, that this part of the prophecy is ſufficiently fulfilled, though there ſhould be reaſon to queſtion the truth of what is aſſerted by ſome writers, that the word *myſtery* was formerly written in letters of gold upon the forepart of the pope's mitre. Scaliger ‡ affirms it upon the authority of the Duke de Montmorency, who received his information from a

* Nomen tuum pependit in fronte: pretia ſtupri accepiſti, &c. Seneca. Lib. 1. Controverſ. 2. Juvenal, Sat. VI. 122.

—tunc nuda papillis
Conſtitit auratis, titulum mentita Lyciſcæ.

† Macrobii Saturnal. Lib. 3. Cap. 9.

‡ Feu Monſieur de Montmorency etant a Rome du temps qu'on parloit librement et du S. Pere et du S. Siege, apprit d'homme digne de foi qu'a la verite le tiare pontifical avoit eſcript au frontal en letters d'or *Myſterium*. Scal. in locum. apud Critic. Sacr.

man of good credit at Rome. Francis le Moyne and Brocardus * confirm it, appealing to ocular inſpection; and when king James objected to this, Leſſius could not deny it. If the thing be true, it is a wonderful coincidence of the event with the letter of the prophecy; but it hath been much controverted, and you may ſee the authors on both ſides in † Wolfius. It is much more certain, and none of that communion can deny it, that the ancient mitres were uſually adorned with inſcriptions. One particular ‡ there is "preſerved at Rome as a precious relic of pope Sylveſter I. richly but not artfully embroidered with the figure of the virgin Mary crowned, and holding a little Chriſt, and theſe words in large capitals underneath, AVE REGINA CELI, *Hail queen of heaven*, in the front; of which father Angela Rocca, keeper of the pope's ſacriſty, and an eminent antiquary, has given a copperplate in the third vol. p. 490. of the works of pope Gregory I. and it ſeems more probably to have belonged to Gregory; becauſe he is ſaid to have firſt inſtituted at Rome the litanies to the virgin Mary." An inſcription thus directly contrary to that on the foreſront of the high prieſt's mitre, Exod. xxviii. 36. HOLINESS TO THE LORD.

Infamous as the woman is for her idolatry, ſhe is no leſs deteſtable for her cruelty, which are the two principal characteriſtics of the Antichriſtian empire. She is, ver. 6. 'drunken with the blood of the ſaints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jeſus:' which may indeed be applied both to Pagan and to Chriſtian Rome, for both have in their turns cruelly perſecuted 'the ſaints and martyrs of Jeſus:' but the latter is more deſerving of the character, as ſhe hath far exceeded the former both in the degree and duration of her perſecutions. It is very true, as it was hinted before, that if Rome Pagan hath ſlain

* Idem quoque confirmant Franc. le Moyen et Jacobus Brocardus in h. l. ad *aurenlias* provocantes, non diſſimulante Leonardo Leſſio. Wolfius in locum. In tiara, in mitra papæ habes hoc verbum *Myſterium* ſcriptum: ut non ſit tibi opus longinus interpretationem quaerere. Brocard in locum apud Virring. p. 763. Romanus pontifex, in ſua tiara, hoc ipſum nomen inſcriptum habuit *Myſterium*, quod *auriculis* ipſi teſtati ſunt; et cum id Jacobus Rex objiceret, Leſſius negare non potuit. Downman. apud Poli Synopſ. in locum.

† Jo. Chriſtophori Wolfii Curae Philolog. Cetriticae. Tom. 5.

ſlain her thouſands of innocent Chriſtians, Rome Chriſtian hath ſlain her ten thouſands. For not to mention other outrageous ſlaughters and barbarities; the croiſades againſt the Waldenſes and Albigenſes, the murders committed by the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands, the maſſacres in France and Ireland, will probably amount to above ten times the number of all the Chriſtians ſlain in all the ten perſecutions of the Roman emperors put together. St John's *admiration* alſo plainly evinces, that Chriſtian Rome was intended: for it could be no matter of ſurpriſe to him, that a Heathen city ſhould perſecute the Chriſtians, when he himſelf had ſeen and ſuffered the perſecutions under Nero; but that a city, profeſſedly Chriſtian, ſhould wanton and riot in the blood of Chriſtians, was a ſubject of aſtoniſhment indeed; and well might he, as it is emphatically expreſſed, 'wonder with great wonder.'

7 And the angel ſaid unto me, Wherefore didſt thou marvel? I will tell thee the myſtery of the woman, and of the beaſt that carrieth her, which hath the ſeven heads and ten horns.

8 The beaſt that thou ſaweſt, was, and is not; and ſhall aſcend out of the bottomleſs pit, and go into perdition: and they that dwell on the earth ſhall wonder (whoſe names were not written in the book of life from the foundation of the world), when they behold the beaſt that was, and is not, and yet is.

9 And here *is* the mind which hath wiſdom. The ſeven heads are ſeven mountains on which the woman ſitteth.

10 And there are ſeven kings: five are fallen, and one is, *and* the other is not yet come; and when he cometh, he muſt continue a ſhort ſpace.

11 And the beaſt that was, and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the ſeven, and goeth into perdition.

12 And the ten horns which thou ſaweſt, are ten kings, which have received no kingdom as yet: but receive power as kings one hour with the beaſt.

13 Theſe have one mind, and ſhall give their power and ſtrength unto the beaſt.

14 Theſe ſhall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb ſhall overcome them: for he is Lord of lords, and

King of kings; and they that are with him, *are* called, and chosen, and faithful.

15 And he saith unto me, The waters which thou sawest, where the whore sitteth, are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues.

16 And the ten horns which thou sawest upon the beast, these shall hate the whore and shall make her desolate, and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and burn her with fire.

17 For God hath put in their hearts to fulfil his will, and to agree, and give their kingdom unto the beast, until the words of God shall be fulfilled.

18 And the woman which thou sawest, is that great city, which reigneth over the kings of the earth.

It was not thought sufficient to represent these things only in vision; and therefore the angel, like the ἀγγελος, nuncius, or messenger in the ancient drama, undertakes to explain, ver. 7. 'the mystery,' the mystic scene or secret meaning, 'of the woman, and of the beast that carrieth her: and the angel's interpretation is indeed the best key to the Revelation, the best clue to direct and conduct us through this intricate labyrinth.

'The mystery of the beast is first explained; and 'the beast' is considered first in general, ver. 8. under a threefold state or succession, as existing, and then ceasing to be, and then reviving again, so as to become another and the same. He 'was, and is not,' και ουκ εστιν 'and yet is,' or according to other copies και παρεσται 'and shall come, shall ascend out of the bottomless pit.' A *beast* in the prophetic style, as we before observed, is a tyrannical idolatrous empire: and the Roman empire was idolatrous under the Heathen emperors, and then ceased to be so for some time under the Christian emperors, and then became idolatrous again under the Roman pontiffs, and so hath continued ever since. It is the same idolatrous power revived again, but only in another form; and all the corrupt part of mankind, whose names are not inrolled as good citizens in the registers of heaven, are pleased at the revival of it; but in this last form it 'shall go into perdition;' it shall not, as it did before, cease for a time, and revive again, but shall be destroyed for ever.

After

After this general account of the beaſt, there follows an explanation of the particular emblems, with a ſhort preface, intimating that they are deſerving of the deepeſt attention, and are a proper exerciſe and trial of the underſtanding. 'Here is the mind which hath wiſdom;' ver. 9. as it was ſaid upon a former occaſion, xiii. 18. 'Here is wiſdom; let him that hath underſtanding count,' &c.' The 'ſeven heads' have a double ſignification. They are primarily 'ſeven mountains on which the woman ſitteth,' on which the capital city is ſeated; which [redacted] have the leaſt tincture of letters know to be the ſit[redacted] of Rome. Hiſtorians, geographers, and poets, all ſp[redacted] *the city with ſeven hills*; and paſſages might be quoted to this purpoſe without number and without end. It is obſerved too, that new Rome or Conſtantinople is ſituated on ſeven mountains: but theſe are very rarely mentioned, and mentioned only by obſcure authors, in compariſon of the others; and beſides the ſeven mountains, other particulars alſo muſt coincide, which cannot be found in Conſtantinople. It is evident therefore, that the city 'ſeated on ſeven mountains,' muſt be Rome; and a plainer deſcription could not be given of it, without expreſſing the name, which there might be ſeveral wiſe reaſons for concealing.

As 'the ſeven heads' ſignify 'ſeven mountains,' ſo they alſo ſignify, 'ſeven kings,' reigning over the ſeven mountains. ver. 10, 11. Και βασιλεις ἑπτα εισιν, 'And they are ſeven kings *or* kingdoms, *or* forms of governments,' as the word imports, and hath been ſhown to import in former inſtances. 'Five are fallen,' five of theſe forms of government are already paſt; 'and one is,' the ſixth is now ſubſiſting. The 'five fallen' are *kings*, and *conſuls*, and *dictators*, and *decemvirs*, and *military tribunes with conſular authority*; and they are enumerated and diſtinguiſhed by thoſe who ſhould beſt know, the two greateſt Roman hiſtorians * Livy and Tacitus. The *ſixth* is the power of the *Cæſars* or *emperors*, which was ſubſiſting at the time of the viſion. An end was put to the imperial name in

* Quæcunque condita urbe Roma ad captam eandem urbem Romani ſub *regibus* primum, *conſulibus* deinde ac *dictatoribus*, *decemviriſque* ac *tribunis conſularibus* geſſere. Livii Lib. 6. Cap. 1. Urbem Romam a principio *reges* habuere. Libertatem et *conſulatum* L. Brutus inſti-

tui

in * the 476 year by Odoacer king of the Heruli, who having taken Rome depoſed Momyllus Auguſtulus, the laſt emperor of the weſt. He and his ſucceſſors the Oſtrogoths aſſumed the title of kings of Italy: but though the name was changed, the power ſtill continued much the ſame. This therefore cannot well be called a new form of government; it may rather be conſidered as a continuation of the imperial power, or as a renovation of the kingly authority. *Conſuls* are reckoned but [illegible] form of government, though their office was frequ[illegible] ſuſpended, and after a time reſtored again: and [illegible] ſame manner *kings* may be counted but one for[illegible] government, though the name was reſumed aft[illegible] interval of ſo many years. A new form of government was not erected, till Rome fell under the obedience of the eaſtern emperor, and the emperor's lieutenant, the exarch of Ravenna, diſſolved all the former magiſtracies, and conſtituted a duke of Rome, to govern the people, and to pay tribute to the exarchate of Ravenna. Rome had never experienced this form of government before: and this I conceive to be *the other*, which in the apoſtle's days 'was not yet come, and when he cometh, he muſt continue a ſhort ſpace.' For Rome was reduced to a dukedom tributary to the exarch of Ravenna by Longinus, who was ſent exarch † in the year 566 according to ſome accounts, or in the year 568 according to others; and 'the city revolted from the eaſtern emperor to the pope in the year 1727: which is a 'ſhort ſpace,' in compariſon of the imperial power, which preceded, and laſted above 500 years; and in compariſon of the papal power, which followed, and hath now continued about a thouſand years. But ſtill poſſibly you may heſitate, whether this is properly a new form of government. Rome being ſtill ſubject to the imperial power, by being ſubject to the Greek emperor's

tuit. *Dictaturæ* ad tempus ſumebantur: neque *Decemviralis potestas* ultra biennium, neque *tribunorum militum consularis jus* diu valuit. Non Cinnae, non Sullae longa dominatio et Pompeii Craſſique potentia, cito in Caeſarem; Lepidi atque Antonii arma, in Auguſtum ceſſere; qui cuncta diſcordiis civilibus feſſa, nomine *principis* ſub *imperium* accepit. Tacit. Annal. Lib. 1. in initio.

* Sigonius de Occidentali Imperio Lib. 14. &c. Petavii Rat. Temp. Part. 1. Lib. 6. Cap. 18.

† Sigonius de Regno Ital. Lib. 2. Petav. Rat. Temp. Par. 1. Lib. 9. Cap. 10. ‡ Sigon. ibid. Lib. 3

ror's deputy, the exarch of Ravenna: and according as you determine this point, 'the beaſt that was and is not, was,' while idolatrous, and 'was not' while not idolatrous, will appear to be the 'ſeventh *or* eighth.' If you reckon this a new form of government, * the beaſt that now is, is 'the eighth;' if you do not reckon this a new form of government, the beaſt is 'of the ſeven;' but whether he be 'the ſeventh *or* eighth,' he is the laſt form of government, 'and goeth into perdition.' It appears evidently, that the ſixth form of goverment, which was ſubſiſting in St John's time, is the imperial; and what form of goverment hath ſucceeded to that in Rome, and hath continued for 'a long ſpace' of time, but the papal? The beaſt therefore, upon which the woman rideth, is the Roman government in its laſt form: and this all muſt acknowledge, is the papal, and not the imperial.

Having explained the myſtery of 'the ſeven heads,' the angel proceeds to the explanation of 'the ten horns,' ver, 12, 13, 14. 'The ten horns are ten kings, who have received no kingdom as yet:' and conſequently they were not in being at the time of the viſion; and indeed the Roman empire was not divided into ten kingdoms, till ſome time after it was become Chriſtian. 'But they receive power as kings one hour,' † μιαν ὥραν, at the ſame time, or for the ſame length of time' 'with the beaſt:'

It

* Mr Mann explains the *ſeventh* and *eighth* otherwiſe. Quis igitur rex ſeptimus erit? Nimirum ipſe papa. Nam ex quo A. D. 534. cum eccleſiarum omnium caput declaravit Juſtinianus alii omnium judicem, ipſum a nullo judicandum, tanta reverentia et obſequio ab Impp. ipſis cultus eſt, tanta authoritate ipſos ſubinde reprehendit, interdum etiam anathemate percuſit, ut non minus dicendus ſit regnaſſe in ſpiritualibus quamvis ſe ſubitum ſemper ſervumque ſervorum diceret, quam in temporalibus imperatores. Tunc igitur papae *septem illis*, id eſt, ex genere atque ordine illorum principum qui præceſſerant, eſſe dicendus erat, donec A. D. 727 Leonis imp. jugum, quem anno ſuperiore excommunicarat, prorſus excuſſit Gregorius II, Romamque et regiones vicinas ſibi ſubjecit. Ex illo enim tempore papa rex octavus meritò haberi poteſt, cum gladio ſpirituali temporalem quoque deinde acceptus. Scio eſſe, qui pulſo Leone imp. negent Romam papæ ſubjectam fuiſſe, ſed a Pipino A. D. 752. Exarchatum Ravennae, &c. papae datum tantum cum aliis urbibus, non ipſam Romam; ſed mihi videntur non de re, ſed umbra tantum certare. MS.

† *Uno eodemque tempore.* Vitring. Malim, ad unum idemque tempus, ut cum identitate temporis durationem complectatur. Mr Mann's MS.

It is true in both ſenſes, they riſe and fall together with the beaſt: and conſequently they are not to be reckoned before the riſe and eſtabliſhment of the beaſt; and accordingly when a catalogue was produced of theſe ten kings or kingdoms in a diſſertation upon Daniel, they are exhibited as they ſtood in the eighth century, which is the time of the riſe and eſtabliſhment of the beaſt. Kingdoms they might be before, but they were not before kingdoms or *horns* of the beaſt, till they embraced his religion, and ſubmitted to his authority; and the beaſt ſtrengthened them, as they again ſtrengthened the beaſt. It is upon the ſeventh or laſt head of the beaſt that the horns are ſeen growing together, that is upon the Roman empire in its ſeventh or laſt from of government: and they are not, like the *heads*, ſucceſſive, but contemporary kingdoms. 'Theſe have one mind, and ſhall give their power and ſtrength unto the beaſt,' which is eaſily underſtood and applied to the princes and ſtates in communion with the church of Rome. However they may differ in other reſpects, yet they agree in ſubmitting implicitly to the authority of the Roman church, and in defending its rights and prerogatives againſt all oppoſers. But where were ever ten kings or kingdoms who were all unanimous in their ſubmiſſion to the Roman empire, and voluntarily and of their own accord contributed 'their power and ſtrength,' their forces and riches to ſupport and maintain it? Theſe ſhall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb ſhall overcome them; they perſecute the true church of Chriſt, but the true church ſhall in the end prevail and triumph over them; which particulars have been fulfilled in part already, and will be more fully accompliſhed hereafter.

In the former part of this deſcription, ver. 1. 'the whore' is repreſented like ancient Babylon, 'ſitting upon many waters:' and theſe waters are here, ver 15. ſaid expreſsly to * ſignify 'peoples, and multitudes, and nations and tongues.' So many words in the plural number fitly denote the great extenſiveneſs of her power and juriſdiction: and it is a remarkable pecularity of Rome, different

* [illegible]e hoc loco tanto magis appoſite, quod ex populi reverentia et timore primo excrevit poteſtas illa papalis, et per decem aut plures annos a populi Romani ſuffragiis creati ſunt papæ. Mr [illegible]

different from all other governments in the world, that her authority is not limited to her own immediate ſubjects, and confined within the bounds of her own dominions, but extends over all kingdoms and countries profeſſing the ſame religion. She herſelf glories in the title of the *Catholic* church, and exults in the number of her votaries as a certain proof of the true religion. Cardinal * Bellarmin's firſt note of the true church is *the very name of the Catholic church:* and his fourth note is *amplitude, or multitude and variety of believers;* for the truly catholic church, ſays he, ought not only to comprehend all ages, but likewiſe all places, all nations, all kinds of men. But notwithſtanding the general current in her favour, the tide ſhall turn againſt her; and the hands which helped to raiſe her, ſhall alſo pull her down, ver. 16. 'The ten horns ſhall hate the whore;' that is by a common figure of the whole for a part, *ſome* of the ten kings, for others, xviii. 9. 'ſhall bewail her and lament for her, and xix. 19. ſhall fight and periſh in the cauſe of the beaſt. Some of the kings who formerly loved her, grown ſenſible of her exorbitant exactions and oppreſſions, ſhall 'hate her,' ſhall ſtrip, and expoſe, and plunder her, and utterly conſume her with fire. Rome, therefore, will finally be deſtroyed by ſome of the princes who are reformed or ſhall be reformed from popery: and as the kings of France have contributed greatly to her advancement, it is not impoſſible, nor improbable, that ſome time or other they may alſo be the principal authors of her deſtruction. France hath already ſhewn ſome tendency towards a reformation, and therefore may appear more likely to accompliſh it. Nay, even the kings of Spain and Portugal, their moſt *catholic* and *faithful* Majeſties, as they are ſtiled, have reſtrained the power of the Pope and the Inquiſition, and have not only baniſhed the Jeſuits from their reſpective kingdoms, but have likewiſe inſiſted upon the ſuppreſſion of that order, which may be conſidered as leading ſteps to ſome farther revolution. Such a revolution may more reaſonably be expected, becauſe, ver. 17. this infatuation of

* Prima Nota, eſt ipſum Catholicæ Eccleſiæ et Chriſtianorum nomen. Bellar. de Notis Eccleſiæ. Lib. 4. Cap. 4. Quarta Nota, eſt amplitudo, ſive multitudo et varietas credentium. Eccleſia enim vere catholica, non ſolum debet amplecti omnia tempora, ſed etiam omnia loca, omnes nationes, omnium hominum genera. Ibid Cap. 7.

of popiſh princes is permitted by divine providence only for a certain period, 'until the words of God ſhall be fulfilled,' and particularly the words of the prophet Daniel, vii. 25, 26. 'They ſhall be given into his hand, until a time, and times, and the dividing of time:' *But* then as it immediately follows, 'the judgment ſhall ſit, and they ſhall take away his dominion, to conſume, and to deſtroy it unto the end.'

Little doubt can remain after this, what idolatrous church was meant by the whore of Babylon:' But for the greater aſſuredneſs it is added by the angel, ver. 18. 'The woman which thou ſaweſt is that great city.' The angel had undertaken to 'tell the myſtery of the woman, and of the beaſt.' He hath explained the myſtery of the beaſt, and of his ſeven heads and ten horns; and his explanation of the myſtery of the woman is 'that great city, which reigneth over the kings of the earth.' And what city at the time of the viſion 'reigned over the kings of the earth,' but Rome? She hath too ever ſince 'reigned over the kings of the earth,' if not with temporal, yet at leaſt with ſpiritual authority. In the arts of government, ſhe hath far exceeded all the cities both of ancient and modern times: as if ſhe had conſtantly remembered and put in practice the advice of the poet,

> Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;
> Hæ Tibi erunt artes. Virgil.

Rome therefore is evidently and undeniably *this great city:* and that Chriſtian and not Heathen, papal and not imperial Rome was meant, hath appeared in ſeveral inſtances, and will appear in ſeveral more.

CHAP. XVIII.

1 AND after theſe things I ſaw another angel come down from heaven, having great power; and the earth was lightened with his glory.

2 And he cried mightily with a ſtrong voice, ſaying, Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen, become the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul ſpirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird.

12 For

3 For all nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication, and the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her, and the merchants of the earth are waxed rich through the abundance of her delicacies.

4 And I heard another voice from heaven, saying, Come out of her my people, that ye be not partakers of her ſins, and that ye receive not of her plagues:

5 For her ſins have reached unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities.

6 Reward her even as ſhe rewarded you, and double unto her double, according to her works: in the cup which ſhe hath filled, fill to her double.

7 How much ſhe hath glorified herſelf, and lived deliciouſly, ſo much torment and ſorrow give her: for ſhe ſaith in her heart, I ſit a queen, and am no widow, and ſhall ſee no ſorrow.

8 Therefore ſhall her plagues come in one day, death, and mourning, and famine; and ſhe ſhall be utterly burnt with fire: for ſtrong *is* the Lord God who judgeth her.

After this account of the ſtate and condition of ſpiritual Babylon, there follows a deſcription of her fall and deſtruction, in the ſame ſublime and figurative ſtile as Iſaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel have foretold the fall of ancient Babylon and Tyre, the types and emblems of this ſpiritual Babylon. A mighty and glorious angel deſcends from heaven, ver. 1, 2, 3. and proclaims, as before, xiv. 8. the fall of Babylon, and together with her puniſhment, the crimes which deſerved it, her idolatry and wickedneſs. It is farther added, that after her fall ſhe ſhall be made a ſcene of deſolation, and become the habitation of hateful birds and beaſts of prey; as Iſaiah alſo predicted concerning ancient Babylon, xiii. 21. 'Wild beaſts of the deſerts ſhall lie there, and their houſes ſhall be full of doleful creatures, and owls ſhall dwell there, and ſatyrs ſhall dance there:' where the word that we tranſlate *ſatyrs*, the Seventy tranſlate *δαιμονια demons*, or *devils*, who * were ſuppoſed ſometimes to take the ſhape of goats or ſatyrs, and to haunt forlorn and deſolate places: and it is from the tranſlation of the Seventy that the apoſtle hath borrowed his images and expreſſions. But if this

* Vide Bocharti Hieroz. Part. prior. Lib. 2. Cap. 55. Col. 643.

fall of Babylon was effected by Totilas king of the Oſtrogoths, as Grotius affirms, or by Alaric king of the Viſigoths, as the biſhop of Meaux contends, how can Rome be ſaid ever ſince to have been the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul ſpirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird,' unleſs they will allow the popes and cardinals to merit theſe appellations?

'Another voice' is alſo 'heard from heaven, ver. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. exhorting all Chriſtians to forſake the communion of ſo corrupt a church, leſt they ſhould be 'partakers of her ſins and of her plagues,' and at the ſame time denouncing that her puniſhment ſhall be great and extraordinary in proportion to her crimes. But was there any ſuch neceſſity for forſaking the church of Rome in the days of Alaric or Totilas, before ſhe had yet degenerated again into idolatry? or what were then her notorious crimes deſerving of ſuch exemplary puniſhment, unleſs Rome Chriſtian was to ſuffer for the ſins of Rome Pagan? 'She ſaith in her heart, like ancient Babylon, Iſ. xlvii. 7. 8. 'I ſit a queen, and am no widow, and ſhall ſee no ſorrow;' She glories, like ancient Rome, in the name * of *the eternal city*: but notwithſtanding 'ſhe ſhall be utterly burnt with fire; for ſtrong is the Lord God who judgeth her.' Theſe expreſſions can imply no leſs than a total deſtruction by fire; but Rome hath never yet been totally deſtroyed by fire. The moſt that † Alaric and ‡ Totilas did, was burning ſome parts of the city: but if only ſome parts of the city were burnt, it was not an event important enough to be aſcribed to 'the Lord 'God'

* It is to be found in the very title of Kircher's Obeliſcus Pamphilius: In *urbis æternæ* ornamentum erexit Innocentius X. Pont. Max. apud Daubuz. p. 812.

† Tertia die barbari, quam ingreſſi fuerant urbem, ſponte diſcedunt, facto quidem *aliquantarum ædium incendio, &c.* Oroſ. Hiſt. Lib. 7. Cap. 39. Edit Havercam. Alaricus trepidam urbem Romam invaſit, *partemque ejus cremavit incendio*, &c. Marcellini Chron. Indict. 8. p. 38. Edit. Scaligeri. Quin etiam *ædificia quædam incenſa*, aliaque opera temere furore barbarico deturbata ſunt. Sigonii Hiſt. de Occidentali Imperio Lib. 10. in fine.

‡ Procop. de Bell Goth. Lib. 3. Cap. 22. Ῥωμην δε ουτε κατειλεν ουτε ἀφηρεθη το παραπαν ὑπο Γοτθων ηθελεν Porro Totilas Romam nec delere, nec relinquere amplius voluit. Ibid. Cap. 36. ibid. Lib. 4. Cap. 22. Totilas dolo Iſaurorum ingreditur Romam die XVI. Kal. Jan. & evertit muros, *domos aliquantas igni comburens*, &c. Marcellini Chron. p. 54. ibid. Sigonius ibid. Lib. 19.

God particularly, and to be conſidered as a *ſtrong* exertion of his judgment.

9 And the kings of the earth, who have committed fornication, and lived deliciouſly with her, ſhall bewail her, and lament for her, when they ſhall ſee the ſmoke of her burning.

10 Standing afar off for the fear of her torment, ſaying, Alas, alas, that great city Babylon, that mighty city! for in one hour is thy judgment come.

11 And the merchants of the earth ſhall weep and mourn over her, for no man buyeth her merchandiſe any more:

12 The merchandiſe of gold and ſilver, and precious ſtones, and of pearls, and fine linen, and purple, and ſilk, and ſcarlet, and all thyne wood, and all manner veſſels of ivory, and all manner veſſels of moſt precious wood, and of braſs, and iron and marble,

13 And cinnamon, and odours and ointments, and frankincenſe, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beaſts, and ſheep, and horſes, and chariots, and ſlaves, and ſouls of men.

14 And the fruits that thy ſoul luſted after, are departed from thee, and all things which were dainty and goodly, are departed from thee, and thou ſhalt find them no more at all.

15 The merchants of theſe things which were made rich by her, ſhall ſtand afar off, for the fear of her torment, weeping and wailing.

16 And ſaying, Alas, alas, that great city, that was clothed in fine linen, and purple, and ſcarlet, and decked with gold, and precious ſtones, and pearls! for in one hour ſo great riches is come to nought.

17 And every ſhip-maſter, and all the company in ſhips, and ſailors, and as many as trade by ſea, ſtood afar off,

18 And cried when they ſaw the ſmoke of her burning, ſaying, What *city* is like unto this great city?

19 And they caſt duſt on their heads, and cried weeping and wailing, ſaying, Alas, alas, that great city wherein were made rich all that had ſhips in the ſea, by reaſon of her coſtlineſs! for in one hour is ſhe made deſolate.

20 Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye holy apoſtles and prophets, for God hath avenged you on her.

In this ſolemn manner, by an angel and by a voice from heaven, is declared the fall of Rome, and her deſtruction by fire; and then are ſet forth the conſequences of her fall, the lamentations of ſome, and the rejoicings of others. 'The kings,' of her communion, 'who have committed fornication, and lived deliciouſly, with her, bewail and lament for her:' ver. 9, 10. but what kings were they who 'lived deliciouſly,' with old Rome, and had reaſon to lament her fall? 'The merchants of the earth weep and mourn over her;' ver. 11—17. for there is an end of all traffic and commerce with her, whether ſpiritual or temporal; for it is intimated, ver. 13. that they make merchandiſe of the *ſouls* as well as of the *bodies* of men. 'The ſhip-maſters, and ſailors, and as many as trade by ſea, weep and wail:' ver. 17, 18, 19. for they can now no longer import or export commodities for her, or convey ſtrangers to and fro; for there is an end of all her *coſtlineſs*. Theſe lamentations are copied from the like lamentations over Tyre in the 26th and 27th chapters of Ezekiel; and are equal to the moſt mournful ſtrains of the Greek tragedians over Thebes or Troy. In all they ſtand afar off,' ver. 10, 15, 17. as if they were unable or afraid to help and aſſiſt her. In all they cry *vai vai*, 'alas, alas,' ver. 10, 16, 19. which is the third woe,' *vai* before mentioned; viii. 13. xi. 14. for as the fall of the Othman empire is the end of 'the ſecond woe,' ſo the fall of Rome is the completion of 'the third woe.' In all they lament the ſuddenneſs of her fall; ver. 10, 17, 19. 'for in one hour' is her deſtruction come. At the ſame time her deſtruction is matter of joy and triumph, ver. 20. to 'the holy apoſtles and prophets, for God hath avenged them on her:' but what reaſon had the Chriſtians to rejoice over the calamities brought on Rome by Alaric or Totilas, in which they themſelves were the principal ſufferers? and how were theſe calamities any vindication of their cauſe, or of the cauſe of true religion?

21 And a mighty angel took up a ſtone like a great milſtone, and caſt it into the ſea, ſaying, Thus with violence ſhall that great city Babylon be thrown down, and ſhall be found no more at all.

22 And

22 And the voice of harpers, and muſicians, and of pipers, and trumpeters, ſhall be heard no more at all in thee: and no craftſmen, of whatſoever craft *he be*, ſhall be found any more in thee; and the ſound of a milſtone ſhall be heard no more at all in thee:

23 And the light of a candle ſhall ſhine no more at all in thee; and the voice of the bridegroom and of the bride ſhall be heard no more at all in thee: for thy merchants were the great men of the earth; for by thy ſorceries were all nations deceived:

24 And in her was found the blood of prophets, and of ſaints, and of all that were ſlain upon the earth.

Yet farther to confirm the ſudden fall and irrecoverable deſtruction of Rome, an emblem is copied and improved from Jeremiah: li. 63, 64. 'a mighty angel,' ver. 21. 'caſteth a milſtone into the ſea, declaring that 'with the ſame violence this great city ſhall be thrown down,' and ſhall never riſe again. Her utter deſolation is farther deſcribed, ver. 22, 23. in phraſes and expreſſions borrowed from the ancient prophets. Iſ. xxiv. 8 Jer. vii. 34. xvi. 9. xxv. 10. Ezek. xxvi. 13. There ſhall be no more *muſicians* for the entertainment of the rich and great; no more *tradeſmen* or *artificers* to furniſh the conveniences of life; no more *ſervants* or *ſlaves* to grind at the mill, and ſupply the neceſſaries of life. Nay, there ſhall be no more *lights*, no more *bridal ſongs*; the city ſhall never be peopled again by new marriages, but ſhall remain depopulated for ever. For which utter deſolation there are aſſigned theſe reaſons, ver. 23, 24. her *pride* and *luxury*, her *ſuperſtition* and *idolatry*, her *tyranny* and *cruelty*. Her puniſhment ſhall be as ſevere and exemplary, as if ſhe had been guilty of all the perſecutions that ever were upon account of religion; for by her conduct ſhe hath approved, and imitated, and ſurpaſſed them all. But Rome hath never yet been depopulated and deſolated in this manner. ſhe hath been taken indeed and plundered * by Alaric king of the Viſigoths in the year 410, by Genſeric king of the Vandals in the year 455, by Totilas king of the Oſtrogoths in the year 546, and by others ſince that time: but yet ſhe is ſtill ſtanding and

* See Petav. Rat. Temp. and Blair's Chron. Tables.

flouriſhing, and is honoured by many nations as the metropolis of the Chriſtian world; ſhe ſtill reſounds with *ſingers* and *muſicians*; ſhe ſtill excels in *arts* which ſerve to pomp and luxury; ſhe ſtill abounds with *candles*, and *lamps*, and *torches*, burning even by day as well as by night: and conſequently this prophecy hath not yet been, but remains yet to be fulfilled.

CHAP. XIX.

1 AND after theſe things I heard a great voice of much people in heaven, ſaying, Alleluia; Salvation, and glory, and honour, and power unto the Lord our God:

2 For true and righteous *are* his judgments; for he hath judged the great whore, which did corrupt the earth with her fornication, and hath avenged the blood of his ſervants at her hand.

3 And again they ſaid, Alleluiah. And her ſmoke roſe up for ever and ever.

4 And the four and twenty elders, and the four beaſts fell down and worſhipped God that ſat on the throne, ſaying, Amen; Alleluia.

5 And a voice came out of the throne, ſaying, Praiſe our God all ye his ſervants, and ye that fear him, both ſmall and great.

6 And I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thundrings, ſaying, Alleluiah: for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth.

7 Let us be glad and rejoice, and give honour to him: for the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herſelf ready.

8 And to her was granted, that ſhe ſhould be arrayed in fine linen, clean and white: for the fine linen is the righteouſneſs of ſaints.

9 And he ſaith unto me, Write, Bleſſed *are* they which are called unto the marriage ſupper of the Lamb. And he ſaith unto me, Theſe are the true ſayings of God.

10 And I fell at his feet to worſhip him: And he ſaid unto me, See *thou do it* not: I am thy fellow-ſervant, and of thy brethren that have the teſtimony of Jeſus: worſhip God: for the teſtimony of Jeſus is the ſpirit of propheoy.

Hereupon

Hereupon the whole church, ver. 1—4. agreeably to the exhortation of the angel, xviii. 20. join praiſes and thankſgivings to Almighty God for his *truth* and *righteouſneſs* in judging this idolatrous city, his *truth* in fulfilling his promiſe and threatenings: and his *righteouſneſs* in proportioning her puniſhment to her crimes. 'And her ſmoke roſe up for ever and ever;' which intimates that ſhe ſhould be made as ſignal a monument of divine vengeance as Sodom and Gomorrah. It is taken from Iſaiah, who hath ſaid much the ſame thing of Edom, and by Edom * the Jews underſtand Rome. Iſaiah, xxxiv. 9, 10. 'And the ſtreams thereof ſhall be turned into pitch;' in the genuine † editions of the Chaldee paraphraſe it is, and the rivers *of Rome* ſhall be turned into pitch, and the duſt thereof into brimſtone, and the land thereof ſhall become burning pitch. It ſhall not be quenched night nor day! the ſmoke ſhall go up for ever.' This tradition of the rabbins may receive ſome confirmation from theſe words of the apoſtle: and ſuch an event may appear the more probable, becauſe the adjacent countries are known to be of a ſulphureous and bituminous ſoil; there have even at Rome been ‡ eruptions of ſubterraneous fire, which have conſumed ſeveral buildings; ſo that the fuel ſeemed to be prepared and waiteth only for the breath of the Lord to kindle it. But God is praiſed not only for the deſtruction of the great ſeat of idolatry, but alſo, ver. 5—8. for the manifeſtation of his kingdom, as before, xi. 17. and for the happy and glorious ſtate of the reformed Chriſtian church. She is no *harlot* tainted with idolatry, but a *ſpouſe* prepared for her Lord Chriſt: ſhe is not arrayed like an harlot 'in purple and ſcarlet colour,' but like a decent bride, 'in fine linen clean and white,' as the propereſt emblem of her purity and ſanctity. Chriſt hath now, as St Paul expreſſeth

* R. David in principio Obadiae, *Quod autem dicunt prophetae de peſtilatione Edom in extremitate dierum, de Roma dixerunt.* Buxtorf. Ghald. Lex. in voce רומי.

† *Et convertentur flumina* Romae *in picem, &c.* Poſteriores editiones vocem *Romae* omiſerunt. Buxtorf. ibid.

‡ Vide Dion. Hiſt. 66. in Tito, πυρ δε δη ἐπιγιον ἐκ της γης ἀνω πολλαχου ἀνηνεγκεν, ὡς τε τὴν Ρωμην ἐπιπρησαι. κ. τ. λ. Ignis autem alias ſupra terram exortus anno inſequenti magnam admodum Romae partem abſumſit, &c. p. 756. Leuclav.

expreſſeth it, Eph. v. 26, 27. 'ſanctified and cleanſed his church with the waſhing of water, by the word; That he might preſent it to himſelf a glorious church, not having ſpot or wrinkle or any ſuch thing, but that it ſhould be holy, and without blemiſh.' So great is the felicity of this period, that the angel orders it, ver. 9. to be particularly noted: and bleſſed and happy are they who ſhall be living at this time, and be worthy to partake of this marriage feaſt. It is a matter of conſolation to all good Chriſtians, and they may aſſuredly depend upon it, as the never failing word of God. St John was in ſuch rapture and extacy at theſe diſcoveries, that, ver. 10. not knowing or not conſidering what he did, 'he fell down at the angel's feet to worſhip him:' but the angel prohibits all manner of worſhip, for he was no more than 'a fellow ſervant' of the apoſtle's and of all true prophets, of all 'who have the teſtimony of Jeſus,' and 'the teſtimony of Jeſus is the ſpirit of prophecy.' Worſhip not me then, ſays the angel, but *God*, whoſe ſervants we both are, and who inſpires us both with the ſame ſpirit of prophecy.

11 And I ſaw heaven opened, and behold a white horſe; and he that ſat upon him *was* called faithful and true, and in righteouſneſs he doth judge and make war.

12 His eyes *were* as a flame of fire, and on his head were many crowns; and he had a name written that no man knew but he himſelf:

13 And he *was* clothed with a veſture dipt in blood: and his name is called, The Word of God.

14 And the armies which were in heaven followed him upon white horſes, clothed in fine linen, white and clean.

15 And out of his mouth goeth a ſharp ſword, that with it he ſhould ſmite the nations: and he ſhall rule them with a rod of iron: and he treadeth the wine-preſs of the fierceneſs and wrath of Almighty God.

16 And he hath on his veſture and on his thigh a name written, KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS.

17 And I ſaw an angel ſtanding in the ſun; and he cried with a loud voice, ſaying to all the fowls that fly in the midſt of heaven, Come and gather yourſelves together unto the ſupper of the great God;

18 That

18 That ye may eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men, and the flesh of horses, and of them that sit on them, and the flesh of all men, both free and bond, both small and great.

19 And I saw the beast and the kings of the earth, and their armies gathered together to make war against him that sat on the horse, and against his army.

20 And the beast was taken, and with him the false prophet that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the beast, and them that worshipped his image. These both were cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone.

21 And the remnant were slain with the sword of him that sat upon the horse, which *sword* proceeded out of his mouth: and all the fowls were filled with their flesh.

It was said by the angel, speaking of the kings subject to the beast, xvii. 14. 'These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them: for he is Lord of lords, and King of kings; and they that are with him, are called, and chosen, and faithful:' And this vision, ver. 11—21. is added by way of enlargement and explanation of that great event. 'Heaven is opened,' and our Saviour cometh forth riding 'upon a white horse,' as a token of his victory and triumph over his enemies. He is described in such characters as are appropriated to him in this book, and in the ancient prophets. 'On his head *also* were many crowns,' to denote his numerous conquests and kingdoms, which were now, xi. 15. 'become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever.' As the Jewish high-priest wore the ineffable name of Jehovah on his forehead, so he had 'a name written, which none could perfectly comprehend but himself; 'his name is called the Word of God.' He hath likewise another 'name written,' on that part of his vesture which covered his thigh, 'King of kings, and Lord of lords;' a title much affected by the * eastern monarchs, and by Antichrist himself. The pope is

* *Artaxerxes king of kings* Ezra VII. 12 Rex regum Sapor. Amm. Marcell Lib. 17 Cap. 5. p. 163. Edit. Valesii. Paris 1681. βασιλεὺς βασιλέων.

is * ſtiled 'King of kings, and Lord of lords;' but what he is only in pretence, Chriſt is in reality. His armies are mounted 'upon white horſes,' as well as himſelf, and are 'clothed in fine linen, white and clean,' as emblems of their victory and ſanctity. 'An angel ſtanding in the ſun,' and ſo conſpicuous to all, in lofty ſtrains copied from the ancient prophets, and particularly from Ezekiel, xxxix. 17, 18. calleth the fowls to the great ſlaughter of Chriſt's enemies. Theſe enemies are 'the beaſt and the falſe prophet,' the Antichriſtian powers civil and eccleſiaſtical, with 'their armies gathered together,' their adherents and followers combined and determined to ſupport idolatry, and oppoſe all reformation. But the principals, as deſerving of the greateſt puniſhment, are 'taken, and caſt alive into a lake of fire burning with brimſtone:' and their followers are *ſlain* with the word of Chriſt, 'the ſword which proceeded out of his mouth; and all the fowls are filled with their fleſh;' their ſubſtance is ſeized for other perſons, and for other uſes. In a word, the deſign of this ſublime and figurative deſcription is to ſhow the downfal of popery, and the triumph of Chriſtianity: the true word of God will prevail over ſuperſtition and idolatry; all the powers of Antichriſt ſhall be completely ſubdued; and the religion of Rome, as well as Rome herſelf, be totally deſtroyed.

CHAP. XX.

1 AND I ſaw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomleſs pit, and a great chain in his hand.

2 And he laid hold on the dragon, that old ſerpent, which is the devil and Satan, and bound him a thouſand years,

3 And caſt him into the bottomleſs pit, and ſhut him up, and ſet a ſeal upon him, that he ſhould deceive the nations no more, till the thouſand years ſhould be fulfilled: and after that, he muſt be looſed a little ſeaſon.

4 And I ſaw thrones, and they ſat upon them, and judgment

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judgment was given unto them; and I *saw* the ſouls of them that were beheaded for the witneſs of Jeſus, and for the word of God, and which had not worſhipped the beaſt, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Chriſt a thouſand years.

5 But the reſt of the dead lived not again until the thouſand years were finiſhed. This *is* the firſt reſurrection.

6 Bleſſed and holy *is* he that hath part in the firſt reſurrection; on ſuch the ſecond death hath no power, but they ſhall be prieſts of God and of Chriſt, and ſhall reign with him a thouſand years.

After the deſtruction of the beaſt and of the falſe prophet, there ſtill remains 'the dragon,' who had delegated his power to them, 'that old ſerpent, which is the devil and Satan:' but he is bound by 'an angel,' an eſpecial miniſter of providence; and the famous millennium commences, or the reign of the ſaints upon earth for a thouſand years, ver. 1—6. 'Binding him with a great chain, caſting him into the bottomleſs pit, ſhutting him up, and ſealing a ſeal upon him, are ſtrong figures to ſhew the ſtrict and ſevere reſtraint which he ſhould be laid under, 'that he might deceive the nations no more,' during this whole period. Wickedneſs being reſtrained, the reign of righteouſneſs ſucceeds, and the adminiſtration of juſtice and judgment is given to the ſaints of the moſt High; and the martyrs and confeſſors of Jeſus, not only thoſe who, 'were beheaded,' or ſuffered any kind of death under the heathen emperors, but alſo thoſe who refuſed to comply with the idolatrous worſhip 'of the beaſt and of his image,' are raiſed from the dead, and have the principal ſhare in the felicities of Chriſt's kingdom upon earth.' 'But the reſt of the dead lived not again until the thouſand years were finiſhed;' ſo that it was a peculiar prerogative of the martyrs and confeſſors above the reſt of mankind. 'This is the firſt reſurrection,' a particular reſurrection preceding the general one at leaſt a thouſand years. 'Bleſſed and holy' too 'is he who hath part in the firſt reſurrection;' he is *holy* in all the ſenſes of the word, *holy* as ſeparated from the common lot of mankind,

mankind, *holy* as endowed with all virtuous qualifications, and none but ſuch are admitted to partake of this bleſſed ſtate. 'On ſuch the ſecond death hath no power.' 'The ſecond' death is a Jewiſh phraſe for the puniſhment of the wicked after death. So the * Chaldee paraphraſe of Onkelos upon that text in Deuteronomy, xxxiii. 6. 'Let Reuben live, and not die, *bath* Let him not die the ſecond death;' and the other paraphraſes of Jonathan Ben Uziel and of Jeruſalem have 'Let him not die the ſecond death by which the wicked die in the world to come.' It is a familiar phraſe in the Chaldee paraphraſes and Jewiſh writings, and in this very book, xx. 14. xxi. 8. it is declared to be the ſame as 'the lake burning with fire and brimſtone.' The ſons of the reſurrection therefore ſhall not die again, but ſhall live in eternal bliſs, as well as enjoy all the glories of the millennium, 'be prieſts of God and of Chriſt, and reign with him a thouſand years.'

Nothing is more evident than that this prophecy of the millennium, and of the firſt reſurrection, hath not yet been fulfilled, even though the reſurrection be taken in a figurative ſenſe. For reckon the thouſand years with Uſher from the time of Chriſt, or reckon them with Grotius from the time of Conſtantine, yet neither of theſe periods, nor indeed any other, will anſwer the deſcription and character of the millennium, the purity and peace, the holineſs and happineſs of that bleſſed ſtate. Before Conſtantine indeed the church was in greater purity; but was groaning under the perſecutions of the heathen emperors. After Conſtantine, the church was in greater proſperity, but was ſoon ſhaken and diſturbed by hereſies and ſchiſms, by the incurſions and devaſtations of the northern nations, by the conquering arms and prevailing impoſture of the Saracens, and afterwards of the Turks, by the corruption, idolatry, and wickedneſs, the uſurpation, tyranny, and cruelty of the church of Rome. If Satan was then *bound*, when can he be ſaid to be *looſed?* Or how could 'the ſaints *and* the beaſt,' Chriſt and Antichriſt, reign at the ſame period? This prophecy there-

fore

* Non moriatur morte ſecunda. Onk. Nec moriatur morte qua morientur improbi in futuro ſeculo Jonath. Neque moriatur morte ſecunda qua moriuntur improbi in futuro ſeculo. Hieroſ.

ſome remains yet to be fulfilled, even though the reſurrection be taken only for an allegory, which yet the text cannot admit without the greateſt torture and violence. For with what propriety can it be ſaid, that ſome of the dead, 'who were beheaded lived and reigned with Chriſt a thouſand years, but the reſt of the dead lived not again until the thouſand years were finiſhed,' unleſs *the dying and living again* be the ſame in both places, a proper death and reſurrection? Indeed the *death* and *reſurrection* of the witneſſes before mentioned, Chap. xi. appears from the concurrent circumſtances of the viſion to be figurative, but the *death* and *reſurrection* here mentioned muſt for the very ſame reaſons be concluded to be real. If the martyrs riſe only in a ſpiritual ſenſe, then 'the reſt of the dead,' riſe only in a ſpiritual ſenſe; but if 'the reſt of the dead,' really riſe, the martyrs riſe in the ſame manner. There is no difference between them; and we ſhould be cautious and tender of making the firſt reſurrection an allegory, leſt others ſhould reduce the ſecond into an allegory too, like thoſe whom St Paul mentions, 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18. 'Hymeneus and Philetus, who concerning the truth have erred, ſaying, that the reſurrection is paſt already, and overthrow the faith of ſome.' It is to this firſt reſurrection that St Paul alludes, when he affirms, 1 Theſ. iv. 16. that 'the dead in Chriſt ſhall riſe firſt,' and, 1 Cor. xv. 23. that 'every man ſhall be made alive in his own order, Chriſt the firſt fruits, afterward they that are Chriſt's at his coming, and then cometh the end, after the general reſurrection.

In the general that there ſhall be ſuch a happy period as the millennium, that 'the kingdom and dominion, and the greatneſs of the kingdom under the whole heaven, ſhall be given to the people of the ſaints of the moſt High,' Dan. vii. 27. that Chriſt ſhall have 'the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermoſt parts of the earth for his poſſeſſion,' Pſal. ii. 8. 'that the earth ſhall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the ſea,' Iſ. xi. 9. 'that the fulneſs of the Gentiles ſhall come in, and all Iſrael ſhall be ſaved,' Rom. xi. 25, 26. in a word that the kingdom of heaven ſhall be eſtabliſhed upon earth, is the plain and expreſs doctrine of Daniel and all the prophets as well as of St John: and we daily pray

for the accompliſhment of it in praying, 'Thy kingdom come.' But of all the prophets St John is the only one who hath declared particularly and in expreſs terms, that the martyrs ſhall riſe to partake of the felicities of this kingdom, and that it ſhall continue upon earth a thouſand years: and the Jewiſh church before him, and the Chriſtian church after him, have farther believed and taught, that theſe thouſand years will be the ſeventh millennary of the world. A pompous heap of quotations might be produced to this purpoſe both from Jewiſh and Chriſtian writers: but I chooſe to ſelect only a few of the moſt material of each ſort; you may find a great number † in Dr Burnet and other authors who have treated of this ſubject.

Of the Jewiſh writers † Rabbi Ketina, as cited in the Gemara or gloſs of their Talmud, ſaid that "the world endures ſix thouſand years, and one thouſand it ſhall be laid waſte, (that is the enemies of God ſhall be deſtroyed) whereof it is ſaid, Iſ. ii. 11. *The Lord alone ſhall be exalted in that day.* Tradition aſſents to Rabbi Ketina: As out of ſeven years every ſeventh is the year of remiſſion, ſo out of the ſeven thouſand years of the world the ſeventh millennary ſhall be the millennary of remiſſion that *God alone may be exalted in that day.*" It was ‡ the tradition of the houſe of Elias, who lived two hundred years or thereabouts before Chriſt, and the tradition might perhaps be derived from Elias the Tiſhbite, that "the world endures ſix thouſand years, two thouſand before the Law, two thouſand under the Law, and two thouſand

* Burnet's Theory. B. 3. Ch. 5. B. 4. Ch. 6. Mede Placita Doctorum Hebræorum de Magno die Judicii. p. 535. B. 5. Ch. 3. page 89, &c. &c.

† Dixit Rabbi Ketina, Sex annorum millibus ſtat mundus, et uno (millenario) vaſtabitur; de quo dicitur, *Et exaltabitur Dominus ſolus die illa.* Traditio adſtipulatur R. Ketinæ: Sicut ex ſeptenis annis ſeptimus quiſque annus remiſſionis eſt, ita ex ſeptem millibus annorum mundi ſeptimus millenarius millenarius remiſſionis erit, ut *Dominus ſolus exaltetur in die illa.* In Gemara Shanhedrim, apud Mede p. 535. et p. 893.

‡ Traditio domus Eliæ: Sex. mille annos durat mundus: bis mille annis inanitas; bis mille annis Lex; denique bis mille annis dies Chriſti. apud Mede. p. 536, et p. 894. Burnet's Theory. B. 3. Ch. p. 5.

thouſand under the Meſſiah. It was alſo * the tradition of the houſe of Elias, that "the juſt whom God ſhall raiſe up (meaning in the firſt reſurrection) ſhall not be turned again into duſt. Now if you enquire, how it ſhall be with the juſt in thoſe thouſand years wherein the holy bleſſed God ſhall renew his world, whereof it is ſaid, *And the Lord alone ſhall be exalted in that day*; you muſt know that the holy bleſſed God will give them the wings as it were of eagles, that they may fly upon the face of the waters: when it is ſaid, Pſal. xlvi. 2. *Therefore will we not fear, when the earth ſhall be changed.* But perhaps you will ſay, it ſhall be a pain and affliction to them. Not at all, for it is ſaid, If. xl. 31. *They that wait upon the Lord ſhall renew their ſtrength, they ſhall mount up with wings as eagles.*"

Of the Chriſtian writers St Barnabas in the firſt century † thus comments upon thoſe words of Moſes, "*And God made in ſix days the works of his hands, and he finiſhed*

* Traditio domus Eliæ: Juſti quos reſuſcitabit Deus non redigentur iterum in pulverem. Si quæras autem, Milli annis iſtis quibus Deus ſanctus benedictus renovaturus eſt mundum ſuum, de quibus dicitur, *Et exaltabitur Dominus ſolus in die illo*, quid juſtis futurum ſit; ſciendum, quod Deus ſanctus benedictus dabit illis alas quaſi aquilarum, ut volent ſuper facie aquarum; unde dicitur Pſal. xlvi. 2. *Propterea non timebimus, cum mutabitur terra.* At forte (inquies) erit ipſis dolori ſeu afflictioni. Sed occurit illud If. xl. 30. *Expectantibus Dominum innovabuntur vires, efferentur alta inſtar aquilarum* apud Mede, p. 776.

† Και ἐποιησεν ὁ Θεος ἐν ἑξ ἡμεραις τα ἐργα των χειρων αυτου και συνετελεσεν ἐν τῃ ἡμερᾳ τῃ ἑβδομῃ και κατεπαυσεν ἐν αυτῃ, και ἡγιασεν αυτην. Προσεχετε, τεκνα, τι λεγει, το συνετελεσεν ἐν ἑξ ἡμεραις· τουτο λεγει, ὁτι συντελεσει ὁ Θεος κυριος ἐν ἑξακισχιλιοις ἐτεσι τα παντα. Η γαρ ἡμερα παρ' αὐτῳ χιλια ἐτη, αυτος δε μαρτυρει λεγων, ἰδου σημερον ἡμερα ἐσται ως χιλια, ἐτη. Ουκουν, τεκνα, ἐν ἑξ ἡμεραις ἐν τοις ἑξακισχιλιοις ἐτεσι συντελεσθησεται τα παντα. Και κατεπαυσεν τῃ ἡμερᾳ τῃ ἑβδομῃ τουτο λεγει ὁταν ἐλθων ὁ ὑιος αυτου και καταργησει τον καιρον ανομιας, και κρινει τους ασεβεις, και ἀλλαξει τον ἡλιον, και την σεληνην, και τους ἀστερας, τοτε καλως κατεπαυσεται ἐν τῃ ἡμερᾳ τῃ ἑβδομῃ. *Fecitque Deus in ſex diebus opera manuum ſuarum, et conſummavit in die ſeptima, et in ea requievit, et ſanctificavit eam.* Advertite, filii, quid dicat; *conſummavit in ſex diebus*: id ait; omnia conſummabit Dominus Deus in ſex millibus annorum. Nam apud illum dies æquiparatur mille annis, ut ipſemet teſtatur dicens. *Ecce hodiernus dies erit tanquam mille anni.* Itaque, filii in ſex diebus, hoc eſt, in ſex annorum millibus conſummabantur univerſa. *Et requievit die ſeptima*: hoc ait; quando veniens ejus filius tempus Iniqui abolebit, ac judicabit impios, et mutabit ſolem ac lunam ſtellaſque, tunc pulchre requieſcet in die ſeptima. S. Barnabæ Epiſt. Cap. 15. Edit. Coteleri, et Clerici.

them on the ſeventh day, and he reſted in it, and ſanctified it. Conſider, children, what that ſignifies, *he finiſhed them in ſix days.* This it ſignifies, that the Lord God will finiſh all things in ſix thouſand years. For a day with him is a thouſand years; as he himſelf teſtified ſaying, *Behold this day ſhall be as a thouſand years.* Therefore children, in ſix days, that is in ſix thouſand years, ſhall all things be conſummated. *And he reſted the ſeventh day:* this ſignifies, that when his Son ſhall come, and ſhall aboliſh the ſeaſon of the wicked one, and ſhall judge the ungodly, and ſhall change the ſun, and the moon, and the ſtars, then he ſhall reſt glorioufly in that ſeventh day." Juſtin Martyr in the ſecond century * declares the millennium to be the catholic doctrine of his time. "I, and as many as are orthodox Chriſtians in all reſpects, do acknowledge that there ſhall be a reſurrection of the fleſh, (meaning the firſt reſurrection) and a thouſand years in Jeruſalem rebuilt, and adorned, and enlarged, (that is in the new Jeruſalem,) as the prophets Ezekiel, and Iſaiah, and others unanimouſly atteſt." Afterwards he ſubjoins, "A certain man among us, whoſe name was John, one of the apoſtles of Chriſt, in a revelation made to him, did prophecy that the faithful believers in Chriſt ſhould live a thouſand years in the new Jeruſalem, and after theſe ſhould be the general reſurrection and judgment:" which is an early atteſtation to the genuineneſs and authenticity of the book of the Revelation; for Juſtin was converted to Chriſtianity about thirty years after the death of St John, at which

* εγω δε, και οι τινες εισιν ορθογνωμονες κατα παντα χριστιανοι και σαρκος αναστασιν γινεσεσθαι επισταμεθα, και χιλια ετη εν Ιερουσαλημ, οικοδομηθεισαν, και κοσμηθεισαν, και πλατυνθεισαν, ως φασι οι προφηται Ιεζεκιηλ και Ησαιας, και οι αλλοι ομολογουσιν. Ego autem, et ſi qui rectæ per omnia ſententiæ Chriſtiani ſunt, et carnis reſurrectionem futuram novimus, et mille annos in Hierſualem inſtaurata, et exornata, et dilatata, ſicut prophetæ, Ezek. et Eſa. et alii promulgant. Και τις παρ' ημιν ανηρ τις, ω ονομα Ιωαννης, εις των αποστολων του Χριστου εν αποκαλυψει γενομενη αυτω χιλια ετη πεποιηται εν Ιερουσαλημ τους τω ημετερω Χριστω πεπιστευκοτας προφητευσει, και μετα ταυτα την καθολικην και, συνελοντι φαναι, αιωνιαν ομου παντων ανασασιν γενησεσθαι και κρισιν. Et vir apud nos quidam, cui nomen erat Joannes, e duodecim apoſtolis Chriſti unus, in ea quæ illi exhibita eſt revelatione Chriſti fideles noſtri annos mille Hieroſolymis peracturos eſſe prædicatus eſt, et poſtea univerſalem et (ut ſemel dicam) ſempiternam omnium unanimiter ſimul reſurrectionem et judicium futurum. Juſt. mart. Dial cum. Tryphone Pars Secunda, p. 307. et 308. Ed. Par. p. 313, et 315. Ed Thirlbii.

which time probably many were alive, who had known and remembered the apoſtle. Dr Middleton in his Inquiry into the miraculous powers, &c. has done great injuſtice to Juſtin Martyr as well as to ſeveral of the fathers. In treating of the millennium, p. 26. he repreſents Juſtin as ſaying, "that all the ſaints ſhould be raiſed in the fleſh, and reign with Chriſt in Jeruſalem, enlarged and beautified in a wonderful manner for their reception, in the enjoyment of all ſenſual pleaſures, for a thouſand years before the general reſurrection." But in the original there is no ſuch clauſe as that, *in the enjoyment of all ſenſual pleaſures*; it is an addition and interpolation of the Doctor's own, in order to depreciate the venerable father: and he could not poſſibly have made it by miſtake, he muſt have done it deſignedly, for he has cited the original as far as to that clauſe, and there ſtopping ſhort has concealed the reſt with an &c. If he had fairly cited the whole ſentence (as I have done above) he was ſenſible, that every ſcholar muſt have detected the impoſition. It is ſeriouſly to be lamented, that ſo learned and ingenious a man, and ſo very fine a writer as Dr Middleton was, ſhould in ſupport of any argument have been guilty of ſo many falſe quotations as he has been, more than any author I know. Forgery ſhould be deemed a capital offence in literary as well as in civil affairs. It has been the fate of Juſtin to have his ſenſe miſrepreſented by others as well as by Dr Middleton. For he has been made to ſay that the doctrine of the millennium had not, even in his time, obtained univerſal reception but that *many Chriſtians of pure and pious principles rejected it*, it ſhould have been ſaid, *did not acknowledge it*, τουτο μη γινωσκειν. But Juſtin could not ſo palpably contradict himſelf. The whole context evidently demonſtrates, that we ſhould read, with Mede and Tillotſon, the paſſage with a negative, ου της καθαρας και ευσεβους that *many* not of *pure and pious principles did not acknowledge it*. *For ſome*, ſays he, *are called Chriſtians, but are atheiſtical and ungodly heretics.* τινες γαρ λεγομενοι μεν χριστιανοι οντες δε αθεοι και ασεβεις αιρεσιωται. A manifeſt proof, that they were men *not of pure and godly principles*. A little after he ſubjoins, that *ſome are Chriſtians, and do not confeſs this, and deny the reſurrection of the dead*; τινες λεγομενοις χριστιανοις, και τουτο μη ὁμολογουσιν, και λεγουσι

μη ειναι τινων αναστασιν. And then after all follows what was cited before, " But I, and as many as are orthodox Chriſtians in all reſpects, do acknowledge that there ſhall be a reſurrection of the fleſh and a thouſand years in Jeruſalem, &c." He thought the doctrine of the millennium of ſuch conſequence that he has joined it all along with that of the reſurrection of the dead. It is evident, therefore, that he never meant to ſay, that they who rejected this doctrine were Chriſtians *of pure and pious principles*, but the contrary. Tertullian at the beginning of the third century * ' profeſſeth his belief of the kingdom promiſed to the ſaints on earth, of their reſurrection for a thouſand years, of their living in the new Jeruſalem, and therein enjoying all ſpiritual delights, and of the deſtruction of the world and the general judgment after the thouſand years: and his books *of Paradiſe and of the hope of the faithful*, if they had not been loſt or ſuppreſſed, might have afforded ampler proofs of all theſe particulars. Lactantius at the beginning of the fourth century † is very copious upon this ſubject in the ſeventh book of his Divine Inſtitutions. He ſaith, " Becauſe all the works of God were finiſhed in ſix days, it is neceſſary that the world ſhould remain in this ſtate ſix ages, that is ſix thouſand years." And again, ' becauſe having finiſhed the works he reſted on the ſeventh day, and bleſſed it; it is neceſſary that at the end of the ſix thouſandth year all wickedneſs ſhould be aboliſhed out of the earth, and

* Nam et confitemur in terra nobis regnum repromiſſum, &c. Tertull. adverſ. Marcion. Lib. 5 Cap. 24. Edit Rigaltii. Paris 1675.

† Quoniam ſex diebus cuncta Dei opera perfecta ſunt; per ſæcula ſex, id eſt annorum ſex millia, manere hoc ſtatu mundum neceſſe eſt.—Et rurſus quoniam perfectis operibus requievit die ſeptimo, eumque benedixit; neceſſe eſt, ut in fini ſexti milleſimi anni malitia omnis aboleatur e terra, et regnet per annos mille juſtitia, Cap. 14. Verum ille, cum deleverit injuſtitiam,—ac juſtos, quia principio fuerint, ad vitam reſtauraverit, mille inter homines verſabitur, eoſque juſtiſſimo imperio reget—Sub idem tempus etiam princeps daemonum—catenis vincietur, et erit in cuſtodia mille annis cæleſtis imperii, quo juſtitia in orbe regnabit, ne quod malum adverſus populum Dei moliatur, Cap. 24. Sed idem, cum mille anni regni, hoc eſt ſeptem millia cæperint terminari; ſolvetur denuo, &c. Cum vero completi fuerint mille anni,—fiet, ſeu cuncta illa et publica omnium reſurrectio, in qua excitabuntur impii ad cruciatus ſempiternos.—Hæc eſt doctrina ſanctorum prophetarum, quam Chriſtiani ſequimur: haec noſtra ſapientia, Cap. 26.

and juſtice ſhould reign for a thouſand years." He ſaith, "When the Son of God ſhall have deſtroyed injuſtice, and ſhall have reſtored the juſt to life, he ſhall be converſant among men a thouſand years, and ſhall rule them with moſt juſt government. At the ſame time the prince of devils ſhall be bound with chains, and ſhall be in cuſtody the thouſand years of the heavenly kingdom, while juſtice ſhall reign in the world, leſt he ſhould attempt any evil againſt the people of God." He ſaith, "When the thouſand years of the kingdom, that is ſeven thouſand years ſhall draw towards a concluſion, Satan ſhall be looſed again: and when the thouſand years ſhall be completed, then ſhall be that ſecond and public reſurrection of all, wherein the unjuſt ſhall be raiſed to everlaſting torments." And having enlarged upon theſe topics he concludes, "This is the doctrines of the holy prophets which we Chriſtians follow; this is our wiſdom.' In ſhort the doctrine of the millennium was generally believed in the three firſt and pureſt ages; and this belief, as the * learned Dodwell hath juſtly obſerved, was one principal cauſe of the fortitude of the primitive Chriſtians; they even coveted martyrdom, in hopes of being partakers of the privileges and glories of the martyrs in the firſt reſurrection.

Afterwards the doctrines grew into diſrepute for various reaſons. Some both Jewiſh and Chriſtian writers have debaſed it with a mixture of fables; they have deſcribed the kingdom more like a ſenſual than a ſpiritual kingdom, and thereby they have not only expoſed themſelves, but (what is infinitely worſe) the doctrine itſelf to contempt and ridicule. It hath ſuffered by the miſrepreſentations of its enemies, as well as by the indiſcretions of its friends; many like † Jerome, have charged the millennarians with abſurd and impious opinions which they never held; and rather than they would admit the truth

* Jam in millennii regno primam fore reſurrectionem corporum crediderunt primaevi Chriſtiani. Et ut juſtorum propriam eam crediderunt reſurrectionem, ita martyrum in ea portionem longe eſſe praecipuam—Haec cum ita crederentur, dici nequit quantum martyres illius aetatis martyrii ſtudio inflammarunt. Dodwelli Diſſert. Cyprian XII. De martyrum fortitudine, Sect. 20, 21.

† See Mede's Works, B. 5. Chap. 5. D. Hieronymi Praenunciata de Dogmate millennariorum, p. 897.

truth of the doctrine, they have not ſcrupled to call in queſtion the genuineneſs of the book of the Revelation. It hath been abuſed even to worſe purpoſes; it hath been made an engine of faction; and turbulent fanatics, under the pretence of ſaints, have aſpired to dominion, and diſturbed the peace of civil ſociety. Beſides wherever the influence and authority of the church of Rome have extended, ſhe hath endeavoured by all means to diſcredit this doctrine; and indeed not without ſufficient reaſon, this kingdom of Chriſt being founded upon the ruins of the kingdom of Antichriſt. No wonder therefore that this doctrine lay depreſſed for many ages, but it ſprang up again at the Reformation, and will flouriſh together with the ſtudy of the Revelation. All the danger is, on one ſide, of pruning and lopping it too ſhort, and on the other of ſuffering it to grow too wild and luxuriant. Great caution, ſoberneſs, and judgment are required to keep the middle courſe. We ſhould neither with ſome interpret it into an allegory, nor depart from the literal ſenſe of ſcripture without abſolute neceſſity for ſo doing. Neither ſhould we with others indulge an extravagant fancy, nor explain too curiouſly the manner and circumſtances of this future ſtate. It is ſafeſt and beſt faithfully to adhere to the words of ſcripture, or to fair deductions from ſcripture: and to reſt contented with the general account, till time ſhall accompliſh and eclaircile all the particulars.

7 And when the thouſand years are expired, Satan ſhall be looſed out of his priſon.

8 And ſhall go out to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to battle; the number of whom *is* as the ſand of the ſea.

9 And they went up on the breadth of the earth, and compaſſed the camp of the ſaints about and the beloved city; and fire came down from God out of heaven, and devoured them.

10 And the devil that deceived them, was caſt into the lake of fire and brimſtone, where the beaſt and the falſe prophet *are*, and ſhall be tormented day and night for ever and ever.

At the expiration of the thouſand years, ver. 7—10. the reſtraint ſhall be taken off from wickedneſs, and for 'a little ſeaſon' as it was ſaid before, ver. 3. 'Satan ſhall be looſed out of his priſon,' and make one effort more to re-eſtabliſh his kingdom. As he deceived our firſt parents in the paradiſiacal ſtate, ſo he ſhall have the artifice 'to deceive the nations' in this millennial kingdom, to ſhow that no ſtate or condition upon earth is exempted and ſecured from ſinning. The nations, whom he ſhall deceive, are deſcribed as living in the remoteſt parts of the world; 'in the four quarters of the earth,' ἐν ταῖς τέσσαρσι γωνίαις τῆς γῆς, 'in the four angles *or* corners of the earth;' and they are diſtinguiſhed by the name of 'Gog and Magog,' and are ſaid to be as numerous 'as the ſand of the ſea. 'Gog and Magog' ſeem to have been formerly the general name of the northern nations of Europe and Aſia, as *the Scythians* have been ſince, and *the Tartars* are at preſent. In Ezekiel there is a famous prophecy concerning 'Gog and Magog,' and this prophecy alludes to that in many particulars. Both that of Ezekiel and this of St John remain yet to be fulfilled; and therefore we cannot be abſolutely certain that they may not both relate to the ſame event, but it appears more probable that they relate to different events. The one is expected to take effect before, but the other will not take effect till after the millennium. 'Gog and Magog' in Ezekiel are ſaid expreſsly, xxxviii. 6, 15. xxxix. 2. to come from 'the north quarters' and 'the north parts,' but in St John they come from 'the four quarters *or* corners of the earth. 'Gog and Magog,' in Ezekiel, bend their forces againſt the Jews reſettled in their own land, but in St John they march up againſt 'the ſaints' and church of God in general. 'Gog and Magog' in Ezekiel are with very good reaſon ſuppoſed to be the Turks, but the Turks are the authors of 'the ſecond woe, *and* the ſecond woe,' xi. 14. 'is paſt *before* the third woe, *and* the third woe long precedes the time here treated of. Ezekiel's prophecy apparently coincides with the latter part of the elventh chapter of Daniel, and preſignifies the deſtruction of the Othman empire, which includes *Gomer* and many European, as well as *Ethiopia*, *Lybia*, and other nations. If 'Gog and Magog' in St John are the ſame

with

with thoſe in Ezekiel, then we muſt ſuppoſe the Ottoman empire to ſubſiſt throughout the millennium, which can hardly be believed, as it can hardly be reconciled with other prophecies. It may therefore be concluded that 'Gog and Magog' as well as *Sodom*, and *Egypt*, and *Babylon*, are myſtic names in this book; and the laſt enemies of the Chriſtian church are ſo denominated, becauſe 'Gog and Magog' appear to be the laſt enemies of the Jewiſh nation. Who they ſhall be, we cannot pretend to ſay with any the leaſt degree of certainty. It is a ſtrange whimſical abſurd paradox of * Dr Burnet, but his hypotheſis betrayed him into it, that they ſhall be "ſons of the earth, generated from the ſlime of the ground and the heat of the ſun, as brute creatures were at firſt." Mr Mede's † conjecture is much more rational, that they ſhall be the nations of America, the nations of America being in all probability colonies or deſcendents from the Scythians, that is from 'Gog and Magog.' Whoever they ſhall be, they ſhall come up from 'the four corners of the earth on the breadth of the earth, *and ſhall* compaſs the camp of the ſaints about, and the beloved city,' the new Jeruſalem with the ſaints encamped around it, as the Iſraelites encamped around the tabernacle in the wilderneſs. But they ſhall not ſucceed and proſper in their attempts; they ſhall not be able to hurt the church and city of God, but ſhall be deſtroyed, in an extraordinary manner, by 'fire from heaven:' and 'the devil' himſelf, the promoter and leader of this new apoſtacy and rebellion againſt God and his Chriſt, ſhall not only be confined as before, but ſhall be 'caſt into the lake of fire and brimſtone,' where he ſhall be puniſhed together with 'the beaſt and the falſe prophet,' who were caſt in before him, 'and ſhall be tormented day and night for ever and ever.'

11 And I ſaw a great white throne, and him that ſat on it, from whoſe face the earth and the heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them.

12 And I ſaw the dead, ſmall and great, ſtand before God; and the books were opened: and another book was opened, which is *the book* of life: and the dead were

* Burnet's Theory. B. 4. Chap. 10.

† De Gogo et Magogo in Apocalypſi Conjectura, in Mede's Works, B. 3. p. 574. Fulleri Miſcell. Sacra. Lib. 2. Cap. 4. in fine.

were judged out of thoſe things which were written in the books, according to their works.

13 And the ſea gave up the dead which were in it; and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them; and they were judged every man according to their works.

14 And death and hell were caſt into the lake of fire: This is the ſecond death.

15 And whatſoever was not found written in the book of life, was caſt into the lake of fire.

After this laſt conflict and the final defeat of Satan, there follows, ver. 11—15. the general reſurrection and judgment, repreſented in a viſion of a great white throne,' *great* to ſhow the largeneſs and extent, *white* to ſhow the juſtice and equity of the judgment, and 'one ſitting on it,' who can be none other than the Son of God, for, John v. 22. 'The Father hath committed all judgment unto the Son; from whoſe face the earth and the heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them,' ſo that this is properly *the end of the world*. 'The dead,' both *ſmall* and *great*, of all ranks and degrees, as well thoſe who periſhed at ſea and were buried in the waters, as thoſe who died at land and were buried in the graves, are all raiſed, and ſtand before the judgment-ſeat of God, where 'they are judged every man according to their works,' as exactly as if all their actions had been recorded in books. They who are found not worthy to be enrolled in the regiſters of heaven are 'caſt into the lake of fire:' whither alſo were caſt 'death and hell *or* the grave,' who are here perſonified, as they are likewiſe in other places of holy ſcripture. It may ſeem ſtrange that *death* ſhould be 'caſt into the lake of fire which is the ſecond death;' but the meaning is that *temporal death*, which hitherto had exerciſed dominion over the race of men, ſhall be totally aboliſhed, and with reſpect to the wicked be converted into *eternal death*. *Then*, 'as St Paul ſaith, 1 Cor. xv. 24, 26. 'ſhall be brought to paſs the ſaying that is written, Death is ſwallowed up in victory: for the laſt enemy that ſhall be deſtroyed is death.'

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

1 AND I ſaw a new heaven and a new earth: for the firſt heaven and the firſt earth were paſſed away; and there was no more ſea.

2 And I John ſaw the holy city, new Jeruſalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her huſband.

3 And I heard a great voice out of heaven ſaying, Behold the tabernacle of God *is* with men, and he will dwell with them, and they ſhall be his people, and God himſelf ſhall be with them, *and* be their God.

4 And God ſhall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and their ſhall be no more death, neither ſorrow, nor crying, neither ſhall there be any more pain: for the former things are paſſed away.

5 And he that ſat upon the throne, ſaid, Behold, I make all things new. And he ſaid unto me, Write: for theſe words are true and faithful.

6 And he ſaid unto me, It is done. I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end: I will give unto him that is athirſt, of the fountain of the water of life freely.

7 He that overcometh ſhall inherit all things, and I will be his God and he ſhall be my ſon.

8 But the fearful, and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and ſorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, ſhall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimſtone: which is the ſecond death.

'A new heaven and a new earth,' ver. 1. ſucceeded in the room of 'the firſt heaven and the firſt earth,' which 'paſſed away,' xx. 11. at the general judgment. In the new earth there is this remarkably property, that 'there is no more ſea, which whether it ſhall be effected by the means which the theoriſts of the earth have preſcribed or by any other, time muſt diſcover: but it is evident from hence, that this new heaven and earth are not deſigned to take place till after the general judgment, for at the general judgment, xx. 13. 'the ſea gave up the dead which were in it.' Many underſtand the expreſſion figuratively

* Burnet's Theory. B. 4. Chap 2. Weſton's Theory. B. 4. Chap.

figuratively, that there ſhall be *no troubles* or *commotions* in this new world. In this new world too, 'the new Jeruſalem' appears, ver. 2. in full glory and ſplendour. It is deſcribed as 'coming down from God out of heaven:' it is a city, whoſe builder and maker is God; and is 'adorned as the bride for the Lamb,' the true church of Chriſt: and the new Jeruſalem, the true church of Chriſt, ſubſiſts as well during the millennial kingdom as after it. At the commencement of the millennium it was ſaid, xix. 7. 'The marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herſelf ready.' At the concluſion of the millennium Gog and Magog went up, xx. 9. againſt 'the beloved city:' and here it is repreſented as the metropolis of the new heaven and the new earth. The new Jeruſalem ſhall be the habitation of the ſaints of the firſt reſurrection, and it ſhall alſo be the habitation of the ſaints of the general reſurrection. The church of Chriſt ſhall endure through all times and changes in this world, and likewiſe in the world to come; it ſhall be glorious upon earth during the millennium, and ſhall be more glorious ſtill in the new earth after the millennium to all eternity. Earth ſhall then become as heaven, or rather it ſhall be a heaven upon earth, ver. 3. God dwelling viſibly among men: and ver. 4. 'there ſhall be no more death,' which cannot come to paſs, till death ſhall be totally aboliſhed, xx. 14. by being 'caſt into the lake of fire,' and till the former things, the firſt heaven and the firſt earth, 'are paſſed away.' He 'who ſat upon the throne' as judge of the world, xx. 11. declares ver. 5. 'Behold, I make all things new;' He is the author of this ſecond as well as of the firſt creation, and he commands theſe things to be written for the edification and conſolation of his church with a firm aſſurance of their truth and certainty. He pronounces this period, ver. 6, 7, 8. to be *the conſummation* of all things, when the promiſes of God, and the deſires of his faithful ſervants ſhall all be fully accompliſhed; 'the righteous ſhall inherit all things,' but the profligate and immoral ſhall have their portion in the lake of fire and brimſtone;' which is a farther demonſtration, that theſe things cannot take effect till after the general judgment.

Many, I know, both ancients and moderns, make the millennium ſynchronize with the new heaven and the new earth; and ſome latitude of interpretation may be well allowed in theſe myſterious points of futurity: but this order of things, and interpretation of the words, appear to me moſt natural, and moſt agreeable to the context. Gog and Magog, the nations in the four corners of the earth, are deceived by Satan after the expiration of the millennium; but Gog and Magog are not inhabiters of the new heaven and the new earth. It is not our buſineſs to frame theories and invent hypotheſes, but faithfully to follow the word of God as our ſureſt guide, without regarding much the authority of men. Not but various authorities might be cited to ſhew that this is no novel opinion. As St Barnabas * ſays, "When the Lord ſhall make all things new, then ſhall be the beginning of the eighth day, which is the beginning of another world;" allowing ſix thouſand years to the duration of this world, the ſeventh thouſand to the millennium, and the eighth thouſand to the beginning of a bleſſed eternity: and you may find many more teſtimonies alledged to this purpoſe in the notes of Cotelerius and other critics upon this paſſage of St Barnabas. Lactantius † affirms, that "when the thouſand years ſhall be completed, the world ſhall be renewed by God, and the heavens ſhall be folded up, and the earth ſhall be changed; and God ſhall transform men into the ſimilitude of angels; and they ſhall be white as ſnow, and ſhall be always converſant in the ſight of the Almighty, and ſhall ſacrifice to the Lord, and ſerve him for ever." St Auſtin alſo ‡ declares, that "the judgment

* γιγονται δε καινων παντων ὑπο κυριου—αρχην ἡμερας ογδοης, ὁ ἐστιν αλλου κοσμου αρχη. Novatis vero cunctis a Domino——octavi dici initium, hoc eſt initium ulterius mundi. Sancti Barnab. Epiſt. Cap. 15. Vide etiam Notas Cotelerii, &c.

† Cum vero completi fuerint mille anni, renovabitur mundus a Deo, et cœlum cumplicabitur, et terra mutabitur; et transformabit Deus homines in ſimilitudinem angelorum; et erunt candidi ſicut nix: et verſabuntur ſemper in conſpectu omnipotentis, et domino ſuo ſacrificabant, in ſervient in æternum. Lactant. Lib. 7. Cap. 26.

‡ Peracto quippe judicio tunc eſſe deſinet hoc cœlum et hæc terra, quando incipiet eſſe cœlum novum et terra nova. Mutatione namque rerum, non omni modo interitu tranſibit hic mundus. Unde et apoſtolus ait; *Præterit enim figura hujus mundi.* S. Auguſt. de Civitate Dei. Lib. 19. Cap. 14. p. 447. Tom. 7. Edit. Benedict. Ant.

judgment being finiſhed, then this heaven and this earth ſhall ceaſe to be, when the new heaven and the new earth ſhall begin to be. For by a mutation of things this world will paſs away, nor by an utter extinction. Whence alſo the apoſtle ſays, 1 Cor. vii. 31. *that the faſhion of this world paſſeth away.*" And indeed why ſhould the new heaven and the new earth be deſtroyed, when there ſhall be no more ſin, when 'there ſhall be no more curſe,' when 'there ſhall be no more death? The heaven and the earth of old,' 2 Pet. iii. 5. for the wickedneſs of man 'periſhed by water: The heaven and the earth which are now, are reſerved unto fire againſt the day of judgment, and perdition of ungodly men;' but why ſhould not 'the new heaven and the new earth,' be preſerved, 'wherein dwelleth righteouſneſs?'

9 And there came unto me one of the ſeven angels, which had the ſeven vials full of the ſeven laſt plagues, and talked with me, ſaying, Come hither, I will ſhew thee the bride, the Lamb's wife.

10 And he carried me away in the ſpirit to a great and high mountain, and ſhewed me that great city, the holy Jeruſalem, deſcending out of heaven from God.

11 Having the glory of God: and her light *was* like unto a ſtone moſt precious, even like a jaſper-ſtone, clear as chryſtal;

12 And had a wall great and high, *and* had twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels, and names written thereon, which *are the names* of the twelve tribes of the children of Iſrael.

13 On the eaſt, three gates; on the north, three gates; on the ſouth, three gates; and on the weſt, three gates.

14 And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve apoſtles of the Lamb.

15 And he that talked with me, had a golden reed to meaſure the city, and the gates thereof, and the wall thereof.

16 And the city lieth four-ſquare, and the length is as large as the breadth: and he meaſured the city with the reed, twelve thouſand furlongs: the length, and the breadth, and the heighth of it are equal.

17 And he meaſured the wall thereof, an hundred *and* forty *and* four cubits,

according to the meaſure of a man, that is, of the angel.

18 And the building of the wall of it was of jaſper; and the city *was* pure gold, like unto clear glaſs.

19 And the foundations of the wall of the city *were* garniſhed with all manner of precious ſtones. The firſt foundation *was* jaſper; the ſecond, ſaphire; the third, a chalcedony; the fourth, an emerald;

20 The fifth, ſardonyx; the ſixth, ſardius; the ſeventh, chryſolyth; the eighth, beryl; the ninth, a topaz; the tenth, a chryſoprafus; the eleventh, a jacinct; the twelfth, an amethyſt.

21 And the twelve gates *were* twelve pearls; every ſeveral gate was of one pearl: and the ſtreet of the city *was* pure gold, as it were tranſparent glaſs.

22 And I ſaw no temple therein: for the Lord God almighty, and the Lamb are the temple of it.

23 And the city had no need of the ſun, neither of the moon to ſhine in it; for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof.

24 And the nations of them which are ſaved, ſhall walk in the light of it: and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it.

25 And the gates of it ſhall not be ſhut at all by day: for there ſhall be no night there.

26 And they ſhall bring the glory and honour of the nations into it.

27 And there ſhall in no wiſe enter into it any thing that defileth, neither *whatſoever* worketh abomination, or *maketh* a lie: but they which are written in the Lamb's book of life.

A more particular deſcription is afterwards given of the new Jeruſalem. 'One of the ſeven angels who had the ſeven vials;' ver. 9. and moſt probably the ſame angel, who before had ſhewed to St John, xvii. 1, &c. the myſtic Babylon and her deſtruction, now ſheweth by way of contraſt the new Jeruſalem and her glory. For this purpoſe, ver. 10. 'he carrieth him away in the ſpirit to a great and high mountain;' in the ſame manner as Ezekiel, xl. 2. 'was brought in the viſions of God, and ſet upon a very high mountain,' to ſee the frame of the city and temple: and this deſcription of the new Jeruſalem is an aſſemblage of the ſublimeſt richeſt imagery of

Ezekiel

Ezekiel and other ancient prophets. 'The glory of God,' or the divine Shechinah, ver. 11. illuminates the city. It hath, ver. 12, 13, 14. 'a wall great and high,' to ſhew its ſtrength and ſecurity;' 'the twelve gates' with *angels* for guards, 'three on the eaſt, three on the north, three on the ſouth, and three on the weſt,' to ſhew that people of all climates and nations may have acceſs to it. On 'the twelve gates' are written 'the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Iſrael,' as on 'the twelve foundations' are inſcribed 'the names of the twelve apoſtles of the Lamb,' to ſignify that the Jewiſh and the Chriſtian church are now united, and, Eph. ii. 20. 'built upon the foundation of the apoſtles and prophets, Jeſus Chriſt himſelf being the chief corner-ſtone.' The angel hath, ver. 15, 16, 17. a meaſuring reed, as the angel had likewiſe in Ezekiel; xl. 3. and the meaſures of the city and of the walls are formed by the multiplication of *twelve*, the number of the apoſtles. 'The city lieth four-ſquare, the length as large as the breadth,' according to the pattern of Jeruſalem in Ezekiel; xlviii. 16. and 'the length and breadth and heighth,' of the walls and buildings are every where of the ſame beauty, ſtrength, and proportion. It is 'built and garniſhed with gold and all manner of precious ſtones,' ver. 18—21. as the richeſt emblems of eaſtern wealth and magnificence; the ſtones reſembling thoſe in Aaron's breaſt-plate, to denote that the *Urim* and *Thummim*, the *light* and *perfection* of God's oracle are there. It hath one remarkable peculiarity, ver. 22. that there is 'no temple therein;' for the whole is the temple of God and of the Lamb. 'The glory of God and the Lamb,' ver. 23. 'ſhine in it' with a luſtre ſuperior to the ſun and moon. All they 'who are ſaved,' ver. 24—27. 'walk *continually* in the light of it; *for* the gates are never ſhut, *and* no night is there.' It is the centre of 'glory and honour;' all the wicked are excluded, and only good Chriſtians are admitted, 'they who are written in the Lamb's book of life.'

CHAP. XXII.

AND he ſhewed me a pure river of water of life, clear as cryſtal, proceeding out of the

throne of God, and of the Lamb.

2 In the midſt of the ſtreet of it, and of either ſide of the river, *was there* the tree of life, which bare twelve *manner of* fruits, *and* yielded her fruit every month: and the leaves of the trees *were* for the healing of the nations.

3 And there ſhall be no more curſe: but the throne of God and of the Lamb ſhall be in it: and his ſervants ſhall ſerve him,

4 And they ſhall ſee his face; and his name *ſhall be* in their foreheads.

5 And there ſhall be no night there, and they need no candle, neither light of the ſun; for the Lord God giveth them light: and they ſhall reign for ever and ever.

The five verſes of this chapter are a continuation of the deſcription of the new Jeruſalem. It is further deſcribed with 'the river of life *and* the tree of life,' as if paradiſe was reſtored and improved. 'A river flowing through the midſt of the ſtreets, *and* trees growing on either ſide of the river,' are wonderfully pleaſing and agreeable objects, eſpecially in the hot eaſtern countries. Of the fruits there is ſuch plenty and abundance, that all may freely partake of them at all ſeaſons; and the very leaves are for the healing of the nations;' by all which is ſignified the bleſſedneſs of immortality without any infirmities. Then too 'there ſhall be no more curſe, as there is in this preſent world ever ſince the fall of man: but the bleſſed inhabitants ſhall enjoy, the ſo much talked of *beatific viſion*, ſhall live in the light of God's countenance, and 'ſerve him, *and* reign for ever and ever.'

6 And he ſaid unto me, Theſe ſayings *are* faithful and true. And the Lord God of the holy prophets ſent his angel to ſhew unto his ſervants the things which muſt ſhortly be done.

7 Behold, I come quickly: bleſſed *is* he that keepeth the ſayings of the prophecy of this book.

In the concluſion the angel, ver. 6, 7. ratifies and confirms all theſe particulars by a repetition of the ſame ſolemn aſſurance which he had before given, viz. that 'theſe ſayings are faithful and true:' and he was commiſſioned

commiſſioned by the ſame God, who had inſpired the ancient prophets, 'to ſhew the things which muſt ſhortly be done,' which would very ſoon begin in part to be fulfilled, and in proceſs of time would be completed. 'Behold, I come quickly,' ſaith he; for we may obſerve that the angel ſpeaketh ſometimes in his own perſon, and ſometimes in the perſon and character of Chriſt, whoſe embaſſador and repreſentative he was. Chriſt is ſaid to *come* upon any notable and illuſtrious manifeſtation of his providence; and all theſe are but ſo many ſteps to prepare the way for his laſt coming to judgment. A bleſſing too is pronounced, as in the beginning, i. 3. upon thoſe who 'keep the ſayings of the prophecy of this book:' and as good Vitringa * devoutly wiſheth, May the Lord beſtow this grace and favour on us, who have employed ſome time and pains in the ſtudy and explication of this *book*, that ſome part of this *bleſſing* alſo may deſcend to us!

8 And I John ſaw theſe things, and heard *them*. And when I had heard and ſeen, I fell down to worſhip before the feet of the angel, which ſhewed me theſe things.

9 Then ſaith he unto me, See *thou do it not:* for I am thy fellow ſervant, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them which keep the ſayings of this book: worſhip God.

10 And he ſaith unto me, Seal not the ſayings of the prophecy of this book; for the time is at hand.

11 He that is unjuſt, let him be unjuſt ſtill: and he which is filthy, let him be filthy ſtill, and he that is righteous, let him be righteous ſtill: and he that is holy, let him be holy ſtill.

12 And behold, I come quickly; and my reward *is* with me, to give every man according as his work ſhall be.

13 I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the firſt and the laſt.

14 Bleſſed *are* they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city.

15 For without *are* dogs, and ſorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whoſoever loveth and maketh a lie.

16 I

* Praeſtet nobis hanc gratiam Dominus, qui operam aliquam in illius mediatione colocavimus, et aliqua etiam nobis hujus *beatitatis* pars obtingat. Vitring. p. 909.

16 I Jeſus have ſent mine angel to teſtify unto you theſe things in the churches. I am the root and the off-ſpring of David, *and* the bright and morning ſtar.

17 And the ſpirit and the bride ſay, Come. And let him that heareth ſay, Come. And let him that is athirſt, come: And whoſoever will, let him take the water of life freely.

18 For I teſtify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, If any man ſhall add unto theſe things, God ſhall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book:

19 And if any man ſhall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God ſhall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and *from* the things which are written in this book.

20 He which teſtifieth theſe things ſaith, Surely I come quickly. Amen. Even ſo, Come, Lord Jeſus.

21 The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt *be* with you all. Amen.

St John, ver. 8, 9. teſtifieth himſelf to be the perſon who 'ſaw and heard theſe things:' and in his extacy falling into the ſame miſtake that he had committed before, xix. 10. he is gently corrected in the ſame manner by the angel: Who ordered him, ver. 10. 'not to ſeal up this prophecy,' as Daniel's was, xii. 4, 9. 'for the time is at hand,' ſome of the particulars would very ſoon be accompliſhed, as indeed all would in their due ſeaſon and order. Which he farther enforceth, ver. 11—15. with promiſes and threatenings, of rewards to the righteous, and of vengeance on the wicked. It was not thought ſufficient to repreſent the angel ſpeakng in the perſon of Chriſt, but Chriſt himſelf alſo is introduced, ver. 16. ſpeaking in his own perſon, and confirming the divine authority of this book, and atteſting it to be properly his revelation. 'The ſpirit and the bride,' ver. 17. that is, 'the ſpiritual bride,' the true church of Chriſt, therefore receives it, and ardently wiſheth and prayeth for its completion. The book being of this importance and authority, a ſolemn adjuration is added by Chriſt himſelf that no man preſume to add any thing to it, or take away any thing from it, ver. 18, 19. 'For I teſtify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, If any man

ſhall

ſhall add unto theſe things, God ſhall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book; And if any man ſhall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God ſhall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from the things which are written in this book:' Which ought to be ſeriouſly conſidered by all viſionaries and enthuſiaſts on the one hand, who boaſt their own inventions as divine revelations; and by all ſceptics and infidels on the other, who depreciate the value and authority of theſe predictions. 'He who teſtifieth theſe things, ſaith, Surely I come quickly;' ver. 20. he not only atteſteth them to be true, but will alſo come ſpeedily to accompliſh them; to which St John anſwers, and in him the whole church, 'Amen; Even ſo, Come, Lord Jeſus.' He cloſeth all with the uſual apoſtolical benediction, ver. 21. wiſhing 'the grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt' to the churches of Aſia in particular, and to all Chriſtians in general. The concluſion is truly excellent, as well as all other parts of this book: and nothing could be contrived to leave theſe things with a ſtronger impreſſion upon the mind of the readers. In the whole from firſt to laſt, appears the majeſty of the divine revealer, 'the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the author and finiſher' of every good work, and of this more eſpecially.

This, as (Sir Iſaac Newton * hath hinted; and as Dr Warburton hath fully proved in ſome diſcourſes, which it is hoped will be printed one time or other for the benefit of the public,) is that 'ſure word of prophecy, whereunto' Chriſtians, as St Peter ſaith, 'do well to take heed' and attend. St Peter, 2 Pet. i. 16, &c. is aſſerting and eſtabliſhing the truth of Chriſt's ſecond coming in power and great glory. 'For we have not followed cunningly deviſed fables, when we made known unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, but were eye-witneſſes of his majeſty.' One illuſtrious proof of his coming in power and glory was his appearing in glory and majeſty at his transfiguration, ver. 17, 18. 'For he received

* Sir Iſaac Newton's Obſerv. upon the Apoc. chap. 1. p. 240. The Bi[ſhop] hath ſince publiſhed a diſcourſe upon this ſubject in the third vol. of his ſermons: but his ſecond lecturer (Dr Halliſax) contradicts him herein, and maintains the Revelation to be written after the death of St Peter in the reign of Domitian.

received from God the Father honour and glory, when there came ſuch a voice to him from the excellent glory, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed. And this voice which came from heaven we heard, when we were with him in the holy mount.' His appearing once in power and great glory is a good argument, that he may appear again in like manner: and that he not only may, but will, we have a farther aſſurance of prophecy, ver. 19. 'We have alſo a more ſure word of prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed as unto a light that ſhineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-ſtar ariſe in your hearts.' St Peter might mean the prophecies in general which treat of the ſecond coming of Chriſt, but it appears that the Revelation was principally in his thoughts and intentions. Chriſt's ſecond coming in power and glory is one principal topic of the Revelation. With this it begins, i. 7. 'Behold, he cometh with clouds: and every eye ſhall ſee him.' With this it alſo concludes, xxii. 20. 'He who teſtifieth theſe things, ſaith, Surely, I come quickly.' Nothing can better anſwer the character of the Revelation, eſpecially in St Peter's time when as yet ſcarce any part of it was fulfilled, than 'a light ſhining in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-ſtar ariſe in your hearts.' It openeth more and more like the dawning of the day; and the more it is fulfilled, the better it is underſtood. Afterwards St Peter proceeds, in the ſecond chapter, to deſcribe, out of this 'ſure word of prophecy,' the falſe prophets and falſe teachers, who ſhould infeſt the church; and in the third chapter, the certainty of Chriſt's coming to judgment, the conflagration of the preſent heavens and earth, and the ſtructure of the new heavens and earth; and all agreeably to the Revelation. Attention therefore to this book is recommended to us, upon the authority of St Peter as well as of the writer St John: and a double bleſſing, as we have ſeen in the book itſelf, is pronounced upon thoſe who ſhall ſtudy and obſerve it; firſt in the beginning, i. 3. 'Bleſſed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep thoſe things, which are written therein;' and here again in the end, xxii. 7. 'Bleſſed is he that keepeth the ſayings of the prophecy of this book.'

Emboldened

Emboldened by which bleſſings I would humbly pray with Nehemiah, Nehem. xiii. 22. 'Remember me, O my God, concerning this alſo, and ſpare me, according to the greatneſs of thy mercy.'

RECAPITULATION OF THE PROPHECIES RELATING TO POPERY.

UPON the whole it appears that the prophecies relating to Popery are the greateſt, the moſt eſſential, and the moſt ſtriking part of the Revelation. Whatever difficulty and perplexity there may be in other paſſages, yet here the application is obvious and eaſy. Popery being the great corruption of Chriſtianity, there are indeed more prophecies relating to that than to almoſt any other diſtant event. It is a great object of Daniel's, and the principal object of St Paul's, as well as of St John's prophecies; and theſe, conſidered and compared together, will mutually receive and reflect light from and upon each other. It will appear to be clearly foretold, that ſuch a power as that of the pope ſhould be exerciſed in the Chriſtian church, and ſhould authoriſe and eſtabliſh ſuch doctrines and practices, as are publicly taught and approved in the church of Rome. It is not only foretold that ſuch a power ſhould be exerciſed, but the place and the perſons likewiſe are pointed out, where and by whom it ſhould be exerciſed. Beſides the place and the perſons, the time alſo is ſignified when it ſhould prevail, and how long it ſhould prevail; and at laſt, upon the expiration of this term, it ſhall be deſtroyed forever more. It is thought proper to repreſent the prophecies relating to popery in one view, that like the rays of the ſun collected in a glaſs, they may appear with the greater luſtre, and have the ſtronger effect.

I. I ſay, the ſpirit of prophecy hath ſignified beforehand, that there ſhould be ſuch a power as that of the pope and church of Rome uſurped in the Chriſtian world: and theſe predictions are ſo plain and expreſs, that, was not

not the contrary evident and undeniable, they might ſeem to be penned after the event, and to deſcribe things paſt rather than to fortel things to come. For inſtance, Hath there now for many ages ſubſiſted, and doth there ſtill ſubſiſt a tyrannical, and idolatrous, and blaſphemous power, in pretence Chriſtian, but in reality Antichriſtian? It is the very ſame power that is pourtrayed in 'the little horn' and 'the blaſphemous king' by Daniel, 'in the man of ſin the ſon of perdition' by St Paul, and 'in the ten horned beaſt *and* the two horned beaſt *or* the falſe prophet' by St John.—Hath the church apoſtatiſed or departed greatly from the purity of Chriſtian faith and worſhip? It is the very ſame thing that St Paul hath foretold, 2 Theſ. ii. 3. 'The day of the Lord ſhall not come, except there come a falling away *or the apoſtacy* firſt:' and he ſaith moreover in another place, 1 Tim. iv. 1. that the Spirit of prophecy (meaning in Daniel) had in expreſs words teſtified the ſame thing before, 'Now the Spirit ſpeaketh expreſsly, that in the latter times ſome ſhall depart from the faith, *or rather* apoſtatize from the faith:' and St John foreſaw the church ſo far degenerated as to become, Rev. xvii. 5. 'the mother of harlots, *or whoredoms*, and abominations of the earth.'—Doth this apoſtacy conſiſt chiefly in the worſhipping of *demons*, angels and departed ſaints, and in honouring them with coſtly ſhrines and rich offerings, inſtead of the worſhip of 'the one true God *through* the one true mediator between God and men, the man Chriſt Jeſus?' Nothing can better agree with the prophecy of St Paul, 1 Tim. iv. 1. 'Some ſhall apoſtatize from the faith, giving heed to ſeducing ſpirits and doctrines concerning demons; and with the prophecy of Daniel, that the blaſphemous king, xi. 38. 'in his eſtate ſhall honour Mahuzzim' God's protectors or ſaints protectors, 'and a God whom his fathers knew not, ſhall he honour with gold, and ſilver, and with precious ſtones, and pleaſant things.'—Is the ſame church, that is guilty of this idolatry, notorious alſo for enjoining celibacy to her clergy, and engaging her nuns to enter into vows of leading a ſingle life? doth ſhe make a vain diſtinction of meats, and command and inſtitute certain times and days of faſting, wherein to taſte fleſh is judged a mortal ſin? Nothing can more fully accompliſh the prediction of Daniel,

niel, xi. 37. that the blaſphemous king, who ſhall worſhip Mahuzzim, ſhall alſo 'not regard the deſire of wives;' and the prediction of St Paul, 1 Tim. iv. 3. that thoſe who ſhall apoſtatize from the faith by worſhipping of demons, ſhall no leſs diſtinguiſh themſelves by 'forbidding to marry, and commanding to abſtain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thankſgiving of them who believe and know the truth.'—Doth the pope make himſelf equal and even ſuperior to God, in affecting divine titles, attributes, and honours; in aſſuming a power of diſpenſing with the immutable laws of nature and the goſpel: in ſubſtituting for the commandments of God the traditions of men; in treading upon the altar of God at his inauguration, and making the table of the Lord his footſtool, and in that poſture receiving the adoration of his cardinals? It is foretold by Daniel, vii. 25. that the little horn 'ſhall ſpeak great words againſt the moſt High, and think to change times and laws;' and, xi. 36. 'the king ſhall do according to his will, and he ſhall exalt himſelf, and magnify himſelf above every god, and ſpeak marvellous things againſt the God of gods;' and in like manner, by St Paul, 2 Theſſ. ii. 3, 4. 'The man of ſin ſhall be revealed, the ſon of perdition; who oppoſeth and exalteth himſelf above all that is called God, or that is worſhipped, ſo that he as God ſitteth in the temple of God, ſhewing himſelf that he is God.'—Have the biſhops of Rome extended their authority and juriſdiction over ſeveral countries and nations? have they uſurped a ſupremacy over all the other biſhops? partly by menaces, and partly by flatteries, obtained an entire aſcendancy over Chriſtian princes; ſo as to have them zealous members of their communion, blindly devoted to their intereſt, and ready upon all occaſions to fight their battles? It is nothing more than what was foretold by the prophets; by Daniel when he ſaid, vii. 20. that the little horn 'had a mouth ſpeaking very great things, and a look more ſtout than his fellows;' and by St John when he ſaid, xiii. 7. that 'power was given unto the beaſt over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations;' and, xvii. 2. 'the kings of the earth have committed fornication,' or idolatry, with the whore of Babylon; and, xvii. 13. 'have one mind, and ſhall give their power and

ſtrength unto the beaſt.—Hath the church of Rome enlarged the powers of her clergy both regular and ſecular, given them an almoſt abſolute authority over the perſons and conſciences of men, enriched them with ſumptuous buildings and noble endowments, and appropriated the choiceſt of the lands for church lands? This was plainly intimated by Daniel ſpeaking of the blaſphemous king, as the paſſage ſhould be tranſlated; xi. 39. 'Thus ſhall he do; to the defenders of Mahuzzim, together with the ſtrange god, whom he ſhall acknowledge, he ſhall multiply honour, and he ſhall cauſe them to rule over many, and ſhall divide the land for gain.'—Is the church of Rome diſtinguiſhed above all churches by purple and ſcarlet colour, by the richneſs and ſplendour of her veſtments, by the pomp and parade of her ceremonies, inciting and inveigling men with all artifices of ornament and oſtentation to join in her communion? This was particularly ſpecified by St John ſpeaking of the myſtic whore of Babylon or the corrupted church, xvii. 4. 'And the woman was arrayed in purple and ſcarlet colour, and decked with gold and precious ſtone and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations, and filthineſs of her fornication.'—Have the biſhops and clergy of Rome in all ages been remarkable for their policy? have they not ſcrupled to promote their religion by all manner of lies and pious fraads? have they allowed of equivocation and mental reſervation in oaths and promiſes, and with the appearance of *lambs*, in meekneſs and ſanctity, acted like 'ravening wolves,' with fury and violence: Daniel hath given the ſame character of the little horn, vii. 8. 'Behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth ſpeaking great things:' and St Paul of the apoſtates in the latter times, 1 Tim. iv. 2. 'Speaking lies in hypocriſy, having their conſcience ſeared with a hot iron;' and St John of 'the two horned beaſt,' xiii. 11. 'And I beheld another beaſt coming up out of the earth, and he had two horns like a lamb, and he ſpake as a dragon.'—Doth the church of Rome boaſt of viſions and revelations, and make a ſhew of miracles in atteſtation of her doctrines? do her legends contain as many ſpurious and pretended wonders! as the ſcriptures do genuine and real? From St Paul we learn, 2 Theſſ.

ii. 9, 10. that 'the coming of the man of ſin, is after the working of Satan, with all power, and ſigns, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableneſs of unrighteouſneſs:' and from St John, xiii. 13, 14. that the falſe prophet 'doth great wonders in the ſight of men, and deceiveth them who dwell on the earth by the means of thoſe miracles which he hath power to do.'—Doth the church of Rome require an implicit obedience, condemn all who will not readily conform as heretics, and excommunicate and exclude them from the civil intercourſes of life? ſo the falſe prophet in St John, xiii. 16, 17. 'cauſeth all, both ſmall and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads; and that no man might buy or ſell, ſave he that had the mark of the beaſt.'—Have the Roman pontiffs occaſioned the ſhedding of as much or more Chriſtian blood than the Roman emperors themſelves? have they all along maintained their ſpiritual ſovereignty by ſecret plots and inquiſitions, by open dragoonings and maſſacres, and impriſoned, and tortured, and murdered the true worſhippers of God, and the faithful ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt? This particular, as well as all the reſt, exactly anſwers the predictions of the prophets. For it is affirmed of the little horn in Daniel, vii. 21, 25. that he 'ſhall make war with the ſaints, and ſhall prevail againſt them: ſhall ſpeak great words againſt the moſt High, and ſhall wear out the ſaints of the moſt High:' and the woman in the Revelation, 'Babylon the great, the mother of harlots,' xvii. 6. is repreſented as 'drunken with the blood of the ſaints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jeſus,' and, xviii. 24. 'in her was found the blood of prophets, and of ſaints, and of all that were ſlain upon the earth.'

Beſides theſe plain and direct prophecies of the corruptions and innovations of the church of Rome, there are ſeveral ſecret glances at them, ſeveral oblique intendments and intimations of them.—'Known unto God are all his works from the beginning of the world:' Acts xv. 18. and when the Holy Spirit dictated to the ancient prophets the prophecies concerning Babylon, Tyre, Egypt, and other tyrannical and corrupt governments, he dictated them in ſuch a manner as plainly evinces that he had a farther

view to this laſt and moſt tyrannical and corrupt government of all. Babylon, Tyre, Egypt, and the reſt, are made the types and emblems of Rome; and many of the particulars predicted concerning the former, are more truly and properly applicable to the latter; and ſeveral of them have been applied accordingly by St John. Jeremiah ſaid concerning ancient Babylon, li. 7, 45. 'Babylon hath been a golden cup in the Lord's hand, that made all the earth drunken; the nations have drunken of her wine, therefore the nations are mad: My people, go ye out of the midſt of her, and deliver ye every man his ſoul from the fierce anger of the Lord.' But how much more applicable are theſe expreſſions, and St John hath applied them, to myſtic Babylon or Rome? xvii. 4. xviii. 3, 4. She hath 'a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations: All nations have drunk of the poiſonous wine of her fornication: Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her ſins, and that ye receive not of her plagues.' The prophets themſelves might not underſtand this myſtical, and ſaw perhaps no farther than the literal meaning; but they 'ſpake as they were moved by the Holy Ghoſt,' 2 Pet. i. 21. who comprehends all events, the moſt remote as well as the moſt immediate. —But the intimations of popery, which I particularly meant, are more frequent and more obvious in the New Teſtament. Why was our bleſſed Saviour ſo very cautious in giving honour to the Virgin Mary, that he ſeemed to regard her leſs than the leaſt of his diſciples? Matt. xii. 48. 'Who is my mother?' John ii. 4. 'Woman, what have I to do with thee?' Luke xi. 27, 28. 'Bleſſed is the womb that bare thee; Yea, rather bleſſed are they who hear the word of God, and keep it.' Why did he rebuke St Peter more ſeverely than any other of the apoſtles, Matt. xvi. 23. 'Get thee behind me, Satan, thou art an offence unto me, for thou ſavoureſt not the things that be of God, but thoſe that be of men;' and eſpecially juſt after giving him that high encomium, ver. 18. 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church?' May we not reaſonably preſume that he ſpake and acted thus, as foreſeeing that divine worſhip which would idolatrouſly be paid to the one, that ſupremacy which would be tyrannically arrogated to the other, and

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which that very encomium would impertinently be brought to countenance.——How came it to paſs that our Saviour in inſtituting his holy ſupper, Matt. xxvi. 26, 27. ſaid of the bread, only 'Take, eat,' but of the cup more particularly, 'Drink ye all of it?' May we not probably ſuppoſe that it was deſigned to prevent or obviate their ſacrilege, who would have *all* indeed eat of the bread, but *prieſts only* drink of the cup?—Why were the vices of the Scribes and Phariſees left ſo particularly upon record, if not chiefly for the correction and reproof of their natural iſſue and deſcendents, the clergy of the church of Rome? Read the whole 23d chapter of St Matthew, and you will find that there is not a ſingle woe denounced againſt the former, but as properly belongs, and is as ſtrictly applicable to the latter. 'Binding heavy burdens, and grievous to be borne, and laying them on men's ſhoulders; doing all their works to be ſeen of men; ſhutting up the kingdom of heaven againſt men, neither going in themſelves, neither ſuffering them who are entering to go in; devouring widows houſes, and for a pretence making long prayers; compaſſing ſea and land to make one proſelyte, and when he is made, making him twofold more the child of hell than themſelves;' making uſeleſs and frivolous diſtinctions of oaths; obſerving poſitive duties, and 'omitting the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith; making clean the outſide, but within being full of extortion and exceſs; outwardly appearing righteous unto man, but within being full of hypocriſy and iniquity; building the tombs of the prophets, and garniſhing the ſepulchres of the righteous,' honouring the dead ſaints, and at the ſame time perſecuting the living; are as ſtrong marks and characters of the one ſect as they were of the other.—Do not forbidding implicit faith and obedience to man, Matt. xxiii. 9. 'Call no man your father upon the earth, for one is your Father which is in heaven;' forbidding the worſhip of angels, Col. ii. 18. 'Let no man beguile you of your reward, in a voluntary humility, and worſhipping of angels;' forbidding all pretences to works of merit and ſupererogation, Luke xvii. 10. 'When ye ſhall have done all thoſe things which are commanded you ſay, We are unprofitable ſervants, we have done

that which was our duty to do;' forbidding the clergy to lord it over God's heritage, 1 Pet. iv. 3. 'Neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being enſamples to the flock;' forbidding the ſervice of God in an unknown tongue, as St Paul hath done at large, in the 14th chap. of his firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians: Do not all theſe and ſuch like prohibitions, I ſay, neceſſarily ſuppoſe and imply, that one time or other theſe particular errors and abuſes would creep into the church? And in what church they are publicly taught and practiſed, no man can be inſenſible. Such texts of ſcripture are as much *predictions* that theſe things *would be*, as they are *arguments* that they *ſhould not be*. For laws divine and human are not levelled againſt chimerical and mere imaginary vices, ſuch as never are, never will be brought into practice, but are enacted by reaſon of thoſe enormities, which men either have committed or are likely to commit, and which the lawgivers wiſely foreſeeing are therefore willing to prevent.—Why doth St Paul admoniſh the Romans particularly to beware of apoſtacy? Rom. xi. 20, 22. 'Be not high minded, but fear;—otherwiſe thou alſo ſhalt be cut off.' Surely this is a ſtrange way of addreſſing the Romans, if the church of Rome was deſigned to be the infallible judge of controverſies, the centre of unity, and director of all religion.—View the picture that both St Peter and St Jude have drawn of falſe teachers, and conſider whom it moſt reſembles in all its features, 2 Pet. ii. 1, &c. 'But there were falſe prophets alſo among the people, even as there ſhall be falſe teachers among you, who privily ſhall bring in damnable hereſies, even denying the Lord that bought them; And many ſhall follow their pernicious ways, by reaſon of whom the way of truth ſhall be evil ſpoken of; And through covetouſneſs ſhall they with feigned words make merchandiſe of you,' &c. Jude 4, &c. 'Ungodly men, turning the grace of our God into laſciviouſneſs, and denying the only Lord God and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; Theſe filthy dreamers defile the fleſh, deſpiſe dominion, and ſpeak evil of dignities; Theſe be they who ſeparate themſelves, ſenſual, having not the ſpirit;' &c.—What St Paul had predicted concerning the corruption of the laſt days, is too much the character of all ſects of Chriſtians, but the application

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more properly belongs to the members of the church of Rome, 2 Tim. iii. 1, &c. 'This know alſo, that in the laſt days perilous times ſhall come: For men ſhall be lovers of their own ſelves, covetous, boaſters, proud, blaſphemers, diſobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy, Without natural affection, truce-breakers, falſe accuſers, incontinent, fierce, deſpiſers of thoſe that are good; Traitors, heady, high minded, lovers of pleaſures more than lovers of God; Having a form of godlineſs, but denying the power thereof.'—Such are the direct prophecies, and ſuch the general intimations of popery; and we have the better right to make this application of the general intimations, as the direct prophecies are ſo plain and particular.

II. It is not only foretold, that ſuch a power as that of the pope and church of Rome ſhould be exerciſed in the Chriſtian world; but to prevent any miſtake in the application of theſe prophecies, the place and the perſons likewiſe are pointed out, where and by whom it ſhould be exerciſed. The prophet Daniel, chap. vii. hath deſcribed 'four beaſts *or* four kingdoms:' and out of the fourth beaſt or kingdom, he ſaith, ſhall ariſe 'ten horns *or* ten kings *or* kingdoms;' and 'among them *or* after them ſhall come up another little horn: and he ſhall be divers from the reſt;' and he ſhall have 'eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth ſpeaking great things, and a look more ſtout than his fellows; and he ſhall ſubdue and pluck up by the roots three of the firſt horns or kings; and ſhall ſpeak great words againſt the moſt High, and ſhall wear out the ſaints of the moſt High, and think to change times and laws.' Daniel's firſt kingdom is the Babylonian, the ſecond is the Perſian, the third is the Macedonian or Grecian, and the fourth can be none other than the Roman; and the Roman empire, upon its diſſolution, was divided into ten kings *or* kingdoms. It is in the weſtern or Latin empire that theſe ten kings or kingdoms are to be ſought and found: for this was properly the body of the fourth beaſt, the Greek or eaſtern empire belonged to the body of the third beaſt: and out of the weſtern Roman empire, by the incurſions of the northern nations, aroſe 'ten kings *or* kingdoms;' of whom having mentioned the names before, we need not

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repeat them here. Now who is 'the little horn' that is to ſpring up among theſe or after theſe; who as a politico-eccleſiaſtical power *differeth* from the other ten powers; who 'hath eyes like the eyes of a man,' that is *wiſer*, as Sir Iſaac Newton ſays, [illegible] or Biſhop in the literal ſenſe of the word; who 'hath a mouth ſpeaking great things,' bulls and anathemas, interdicts and excommunications; who hath a look more ſtout than his fellows,' aſſuming a ſupremacy not only over the other biſhops, but even a ſuperiority over kings and emperors themſelves; who 'hath plackt up by the roots three of the firſt horns,' the exarchate of Ravenna, the kingdom of the Lombards, and the ſtate of Rome, and is diſtinguiſhed by *the triple crown*; who 'ſpeaketh great words againſt the moſt High,' ſetting up himſelf above all laws divine as well as human who 'wearreth out the ſaints of the moſt High,' by wars and maſſacres, inquiſitions and perſecutions; who 'changeth times and laws,' inſtituting new religions; and teaching for doctrines the commandments of men; are queſtions which I think cannot admit of much diſpute: there is only one perſon in the world who can fully anſwer all theſe characters.

The blaſphemous king deſcribed in the 11th Chapter of Daniel, ver 36—39. who 'ſhall do according to his will, and ſhall exalt himſelf and magnify himſelf above every god, and ſhall ſpeak marvellous things againſt the God of gods, and ſhall proſper till the indignation be accompliſhed, who ſhall not regard the God of his fathers, nor the deſire of wives, but in his eſtate ſhall honour Mahuzzim, and the defenders of Mahuzzim ſhall increaſe with glory, and ſhall cauſe them to rule over many, and ſhall divide the land for gain;' is indeed a more general character comprehending the tyrannical and corrupt power of the eaſtern church as well as of the weſtern. But when we conſider, how much and how far the Latin hath prevailed above the Greek church; how the ſupremacy, which was firſt claimed by the patriarch of Conſtantinople, hath been fully eſtabliſhed in the biſhop of Rome; how much more abſolute the will of the Roman pontiff hath been than that of the Byzantine emperor; how the [illegible] hath 'exalted himſelf and magnified himſelf,' as a god

Sir Iſaac Newton's Obſerv. on Daniel, Chap. 7. p. 75.

god upon earth; how much more the Latins have degenerated from the *religion* of their *fathers* than the Greeks; how the desire of single life *and* the worship of the dead, which first began in the eastern parts, have been carried to the greatest heighth in the western empire; how much the jurisdiction and authority, the lands and revenues of the Roman clergy have exceeded those of the Greeks; how while the Greek church hath lain oppressed for several centuries, the Roman hath still *prospered*, and in all probability still may 'prosper till God's indignation' against the Jews 'be accomplished;' in short when we consider, how entirely this character agrees with that of 'the little horn, and how much better it agrees with the head of the Roman than with the head of the Greek church; the particular application of it to the bishop of Rome may well be justified, especially since St Paul himself hath applied it in the same manner.

St Paul hath drawn 'the man of sin, the son of perdition' 2 Thess. ii. an exact copy and resemblance of 'the little horn *and* the blasphemous king' in Daniel: and this 'man of sin' must necessarily be a *Christian*, and not a *Heathen* or *infidel* power, because he is represented as God 'sitting in the temple of God.' He is described too as the head of 'the apostacy *or* the falling away' from the faith; and this *apostacy* is afterwards, 1 Tim. iv. 1. defined by St Paul to consist in 'worshipping of demons, angels and deceased saints: and no man surely can have any reason to doubt, who is the head and leader of this apostacy, the patron and authorizer of this worship. The apostle had communicated to the Thessalonians, what it was that hindered his appearing, ver. 5, 6. 'Remember ye not that when I was yet with you, I told you these things? And now ye know what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time.' What this was the apostle hath no where expressly informed us; but if tradition may be depended upon in any case, it may certainly in this. For it is the constant and current tradition of the fathers, that 'what withholdeth' is the Roman empire: and therefore the primitive Christians in the public offices of the church prayed for its peace and welfare, as knowing that when the Roman empire should be broken into pieces the empire of 'the man of sin' would be raised on

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no reason. They made no question, they were fully perfuaded, that the ſucceſſor to the Roman emperor in Rome, called 'the man of ſin,' and who hath ſucceeded to the Roman emperor in Rome, let the world judge and determine.

St John too hath copied after Daniel, and, Chap. xiii. exhibits the Roman empire, under the ſame emblem of 'a beaſt with ten horns.' It is evident that he deſigned the ſame as Daniel's fourth or laſt beaſt, becauſe he repreſents him as a compoſition of the three former, with 'the body of a leopard, the feet of a bear, and the mouth of a lion.' He deſcribes him too with the qualities and properties of 'the little horn,' ſpeaking of the ſame blaſphemies, acting the ſame cruelties: and having plainly ſeen what power was intended by the one, we have the leſs reaſon to heſitate about the other. But to diſtinguiſh him yet more, the number of his name is defined to be 'ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix.' It was an ancient practice to denote names by numbers; and this number muſt be reſolveable into ſome Greek or Hebrew name, to which all the characters here given may agree. It is an early tradition derived from * Irenæus, who lived not long after St John's time, and was a diſciple of a diſciple of this apoſtle, that the number 666 includes the Greek name Λατεινος or the Latin empire. Or if you prefer a Hebrew name, as St John hath ſometimes made uſe of Hebrew names, it is no leſs remarkable that this number comprehends alſo the Hebrew name Romith or the Roman empire. For more clearneſs and ſurpriſe ſtill, a woman is ſhewn, Chap. xvii. ſitting upon the ſame beaſt, and her name is 'Babylon the great:' but Babylon was deſtroyed long before, and by Babylon all agree, was meant Rome. The ſeven heads of the beaſt are likewiſe explained to be 'ſeven mountains on which the woman ſitteth,' which all the world know to be the ſituation of Rome. The woman herſelf is alſo declared 'to be that great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth;' and that can be none other than Rome. Indeed the papiſts themſelves allow (for they cannot but allow) all this to be ſaid of Rome, but then they argue and maintain it muſt be ſaid of Heathen Rome. But that cannot be; becauſe

* Iren. Lib 5. Cap. 30. p. 449. Edit. Grabe.

exactly agrees not with [illegible] circumstances of the prophecy, and particularly with the woman's riding upon the beast with 'ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns,' which must needs typify the Roman empire, when it was divided into ten kingdoms, but the Roman empire was not divided into ten kingdoms till some years after the ascension Christian. St John with the eyes of prophecy saw this beast 'rise up out of the sea,' and the angel in his expofition saith that he 'shall ascend out of the bottomless pit;' but Heathen Rome had risen and flourished many years before this time. This beast cannot represent Heathen Rome, because he is succeffor to heathen Rome, to 'the great red dragon in his power, and his seat, and great authority.' This beast was to continue and prosper 'forty-two' prophetic months, that is 1260 years; but Heathen Rome did not continue 400 years after this time. The woman is represented 'as the mother of idolatry, with her golden cup intoxicating the inhabiters of the earth;' but Heathen Rome ruled more with a rod of iron, and was rather an importer of foreign gods and superstitions than an exporter to other nations. St John 'wondered with great admiration' when 'he saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus; but wherefore should he, who had seen and suffered the persecutions under Nero, wonder so much that Heathens should persecute Christians; but that Christians should delight in shedding the blood of Christians, was indeed of all wonders the greatest. The woman rideth upon the beast under 'his seventh head' or last form of government; but the sixth head,' which was the imperial form of government, is said to be subsisting in St John's time, and 'the sixth' was not destroyed, and 'the seventh' or last form did not take place till after Rome was become Christian. The ten kings 'with one mind gave their power and strength unto the beast,' and afterwards 'hate the whore, and make her desolate, and burn her with fire;' but never did any ten kings unanimously and voluntarily submit to Heathen Rome, and afterwards burn her with fire. Rome, according to the prophecies, is to be 'utterly burnt with fire,' and to be made 'a desolation for ever and ever:' but Rome hath never yet undergone this fate, and consequently

quently Heathen Rome cannot be the ſubject of theſe prophecies. In ſhort, from theſe and all other characters and circumſtances, ſome whereof can never agree with Heathen Rome, and all agree perfectly with Chriſtian Rome, it may, and muſt be concluded, that not Heathen but Chriſtian, not imperial but papal Rome was intended by theſe viſions.

III. Beſides the place and the perſons, the *time* alſo is ſignified of this tyrannical power, when it ſhould prevail, and how long it ſhould prevail. Daniel mentions theſe things as being at a very great diſtance, and indeed they were at a very great diſtance in his time. It is ſaid, viii. 26. x. 24. 'the viſion is yet for many days;' that it comprehends, viii. 29. 'what ſhall be in the laſt end of the indignation:' that it extends, xi. 35, 40. xii. 4, 9. 'even to the time of the end;' that *when* God, xii. 7. 'ſhall have accompliſhed to ſcatter the power of the holy people, all theſe things ſhall be finiſhed:' all which and other paſſages to the ſame purpoſe conſidered,' it appears as unaccountable as ſtrange, that ever any man ſhould imagine, as ſome both ancients and moderns have imagined, that Daniel's prophecies reached not beyond the times of Antiochus Epiphanes. Daniel hath deſcribed four great empires, not contemporary, but ſucceſſive one to another. The fourth and laſt is repreſented as the greateſt of all, both in extent and in duration. 'It devoureth the whole earth, and treadeth it down, and breaketh it in pieces.' After which it is divided into ten kingdoms, and 'the little horn' groweth not up till after this diviſion. So that this tyrannical power was to ariſe in the latter days of the Roman empire, after it ſhould be divided into ten kingdoms. From St Paul too we may collect, that the great power of the Roman empire hindered the appearing of 'the man of ſin;' but when that power ſhould be diminiſhed and 'taken out of the way,' then ſhould the man of ſin be revealed in his time.' St John alſo refers theſe events to the ſame æra. Not only the general order and the whole ſeries of his prophecies point to this time, but there are beſides particular intimations of it. He deſcribes 'the beaſt' as ſucceſſor to 'the great red dragon, in his power and in his ſeat, and great authority:' but if 'the great red dragon be,'

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as he is generally underſtood to be, the perſecuting power of Heathen Rome, then the perſecuting power of Heathen Rome muſt be removed, before 'the beaſt' can take his place. The beaſt hath alſo 'ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns;' ſo that ten complete kingdoms muſt ariſe out of the Roman empire before the appearance of the beaſt. Of his 'ſeven heads' it is ſaid, 'five are fallen,' that is, in St John's time five forms of government were paſt, 'one is and the other is not yet come,' and the ſixth which was then preſent being the imperial, it neceſſarily follows, that the ſeventh or laſt muſt be ſome form of government which muſt ariſe after the imperial; and as St John ſaw the one, we ſee the other.

It appears then that this Antichriſtian power was to ariſe in the latter times of the Roman empire, after an end ſhould be put to the imperial power, and after the empire ſhould be divided into ten kingdoms: and it is not only foretold *when* it ſhould prevail, but moreover *how long* it ſhould prevail. Here we cannot but obſerve, that the very ſame period of time is prefixed for its continuance both by Daniel and by St John. Wonderful is the conſent and harmony between theſe inſpired writers, as in other circumſtances of the prophecy; ſo particularly in this. In Daniel, vii. 25. 'the little horn' was to 'wear out the ſaints of the moſt High, and think to change times and laws;' and it is ſaid expreſsly, that they 'ſhould be given into his hand, until a time, and times, and the dividing of time;' or as the ſame thing is expreſſed in another place, xii. 7. 'for a time, times, and a half.' In the Revelation it is ſaid of the *beaſt*, xiii. 5. to whom in like manner it was given to make war with the ſaints, and to overcome them, *that* power alſo was given unto him to continue forty and two months:' And 'the holy city,' xi. 2. 'the Gentiles ſhould tread under foot forty and two months:' And 'the two witneſſes,' ver. 3. 'ſhould prophely a thouſand two hundred and threeſcore days clothed in ſackcloth:' And the woman the true church of Chriſt, who fled into the wilderneſs from perſecution, xii. 6, 14. ſhould be fed and nouriſhed there 'a thouſand two hundred and threeſcore days,' or as it is otherwiſe expreſſed in the ſame chapter, for a time, and times, and half a time.' Now all theſe numbers you will

find upon computation to be the same, and each of them to signify 1260 years. For 'a time is a year, *and* a time and times and the dividing of time or half a time are three years and a half, *and* three years and a half' are 42 *months*, and 42 *months* are 1260 *days*, and 1260 *days* in the prophetic stile are 1260 *years*. From all these dates and characters it may fairly be concluded, that the time of the church's great affliction and of the reign of Antichrist will be a period of 1260 years.

To fix the time exactly when these 1260 years begin, and consequently when they will end, is a matter of some niceness and difficulty; and perhaps we must see their conclusion, before we can precisely ascertain their beginning. However it appears to be a very great mistake of some very learned men in dating the commencement of this period too early. This is the capital error of Mr Mede's scheme; which hath led him, and others who have followed his example, into subsequent errors; and what the event hath plainly refuted. For if the reign of Antichrist had begun, as he reckons, about the year 456, its end would have fallen out about the year 1716. The truth is, these 1260 years are not to be reckoned from the *beginning* of these corruptions, from the *rise* of this tyranny, for 'the mystery of iniquity began to work' even in the days of the apostles; but from their full growth and establishment in the world. Of 'the little horn,' who was to wear out the saints of the most High, and to change times and laws,' it is said that 'they should be given into his hand,' which can imply no less than the most absolute power and authority over them, 'until a time, and times, and the dividing of time.' In like manner 'the holy city,' the true church of Christ, was to be 'trodden under foot,' which is the lowest state of subjection; 'the two witnesses' were not only to prophesy, but to 'prophesy in sackcloth,' that is in mourning and affliction; 'the woman,' the church, was to abide in 'the wilderness,' that is in a forlorn and desolate condition; and 'power was given to the beast' *ποιησαι*, not merely 'to continue' as it is translated, but 'to practise *and* prosper,' and *to do* according to his will; and all in this same period of 1260 years. These 1260 years therefore of the reign of Antichrist are not to be computed

ted from his birth, or infancy, or youth; but from his coming to maturity, from his coming to the throne: and in my opinion their beginning cannot be fixed conſiſtent with the truth of hiſtory either ſooner or later than in the eighth century. Several memorable events happened in that century. In the * year 727, the pope and people of Rome revolted from the exarch of Ravenna, and ſhook off their allegiance to the Greek emperor. In the year 755 the pope obtained the exarchate of Ravenna for himſelf, and thenceforwards acted as an abſolute temporal prince. In the year 774, the pope by the aſſiſtance of Charles the great became poſſeſſed of the kingdom of the Lombards. In the year 787, the worſhip of images was fully eſtabliſhed, and the ſupremacy of the pope acknowledged, by the ſecond council of Nice. From one or other of theſe tranſactions it is probable, that the beginning of the reign of Antichriſt is to be dated. What appears to be moſt probable is, that it is to be dated from the year 727, when (as † Sigonius ſays) *Rome and the Roman dukedom came from the Greeks to the Roman pontiff.* Hereby he became in ſome meaſure a *horn* or temporal prince, though his power was not fully eſtabliſhed till ſome years afterwards: and before he was *born* at all, he could not anſwer the character of 'the little horn.' If then the beginning of the 1260 years of the reign of Antichriſt is to be dated from the year 727, their end will fall near the year 2000 after Chriſt; and at the end of the 6000th year of the world, according to a very early tradition of Jews and Chriſtians, and even of Heathens, great change and revolutions are expected both in the natural and in the moral world; and 'there remaineth,' according to the words of the apoſtle, Heb. iv. 9. 'a ſabbatiſm or holy reſt to the people of God.'

IV. What Daniel hath deſcribed under the character of 'the little horn,' and 'the blaſphemous king;' what St Paul hath deſcribed under the character of 'the man of ſin, the ſon of perdition;' what St John hath deſcribed under the character of 'the beaſt,' and 'the falſe prophet;' that ſame tyrannical, idolatrous, and blaſphemous

* See Sigonius, Spanheim, Dupin, &c. &c.

† Ita Roma Romanuſque Ducatus a Græcis ad Romanum pontifices—pervenit. Sigon. Hiſt de Regno. Ital. Lib. 3. Ad Ann. 727.

power, eccleſiaſtical writers uſually denominate *Antichriſt*; and having thus far traced his character and deſcription, his riſe, progreſs, and continuance, let us now proceed to conſider his fall, when at the expiration of the prefixed period of 1260 years, his kingdom ſhall be deſtroyed for evermore. The prophets are not more expreſſive of his elevation, than they are of his deſtruction. They not only predict his downfal in general terms, but alſo deſcribe the manner and circumſtances of it: and St John's account being larger, and more circumſtantial and particular, will be the beſt comment and explanation of the others. For my part I cannot pretend to prophecy, which is the common vanity of expoſitors of the Revelation; I can only repreſent events in the order wherein according to my apprehenſion the prophets have placed them. Sobriety and modeſty are required in the interpretation of all prophecies, and eſpecially in the explication of things yet future. Only this much it may be proper to premiſe, not having ſeen ſo many of the prophecies fulfilled, you have the leſs reaſon to doubt of the completion of thoſe which are to follow.

At this preſent time we are living under 'the ſixth trumpet,' and 'the ſecond woe;' Rev. xi. the Othman empire is ſtill ſubſiſting, the beaſt is ſtill reigning, and there are proteſtant witneſſes ſtill propheſying in ſackcloth: and this 'ſixth trumpet' and 'ſecond woe, muſt end, before the 'ſeventh trumpet' can ſound, or 'the third woe' be poured out, which is to fall upon the kingdom of the beaſt.' But before the end of 'the ſecond woe,' it ſhould ſeem that the papiſts will make a great and ſucceſsful effort againſt the proteſtant religion. When the witneſſes 'ſhall have near finiſhed their teſtimony,' that is towards the concluſion of their 1260 years, 'the beaſt ſhall make war againſt them, and ſhall overcome them.' They ſhall lie oppreſſed and *dead* as it were, to the great joy and triumph of their enemies; but they ſhall riſe again after three years and a half, and the proteſtant religion ſhall become more glorious than ever, with a conſiderable diminution of the papal authority. According to the method and order wherein St John hath arranged theſe events, they muſt happen before the end of 'the ſecond woe,' or the fall of the Othman empire. Ezekiel xxxviii, xxxix. and Dani-

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el, xi. 44, 45. have given ſome intimation, that the Ottoman empire ſhall be overthrown in oppoſing the ſettlement of Iſrael in their own land in the latter days. In the concluſion of the book of Daniel there are alſo ſome intimations, that the religion of Mohammed ſhall prevail in the eaſt for as long a period of time as the tyranny of the little horn in the weſt. Very remarkable too it is, that * Mohammed firſt contrived his impoſture in the year 606, the very ſame year wherein the tyrant Phocas made a grant of the ſupremacy to the Pope; and this might incline one to think that the 1260 years of the reign of Antichriſt are to be dated from this time. But though they might riſe together, yet they were not fully eſtabliſhed together. The authority of Mohammed might be fully eſtabliſhed in the ſeventh century, but that of the pope was not ſo till the eighth century; and therefore, as the one was eſtabliſhed ſomewhat ſooner, ſo it may alſo be ſubverted ſomewhat ſooner than the other. The Pope indeed was eſtabliſhed *ſupreme* in ſpirituals in the ſeventh century, but he became not a temporal *horn* or *beaſt* till the eighth century.

When the Ottoman empire is overthrown, and 'the ſecond woe is paſt,' then according to St John, xi. 14. 'the third woe cometh quickly,' which comprehends all the ſevere and terrible judgments of God upon the kingdom of the beaſt. In like manner when Daniel hath predicted the fall of the king of the north,' or of the Othman empire, he ſubjoins immediately, xii. 1. that 'there ſhall be a time of trouble, ſuch as never was ſince there was a nation, even to that ſame time; and at that time thy people ſhall be delivered, every one that ſhall be found written in the book;' agreeably to which St John alſo ſaith, xx. 15. 'that whoſoever was not found written in the book of life, was caſt into the lake of fire.' The 1260 years of the reign of the beaſt, I ſuppoſe, end with the 1260 years of the witneſſes prophefying in ſackcloth; and now the deſtined time is come for the judgments of God to overtake him; for as he might exiſt before the 1260 years began, ſo he may exiſt likewiſe after they are finiſhed, in order to be made an eminent example of divine juſtice. For the greater confirmation and illuſtration of

* See Prideaux's Life of Mahomet.

this subject, and to make the stronger impression upon the minds of the readers, these judgments are displayed under a variety of figures and representations. First they are described in a more general manner, Rev. xiv. as 'the harvest and reaping of the earth,' and as 'the vintage and wine-press of the wrath of God.' Then they are represented in a more particular manner, Rev. xv. xvi. as 'the seven vials, or the seven last plagues, for in them is filled up the wrath of God;' which are so many signal judgments upon the kingdom of the beast, and so many steps and degrees of his ruin. Afterwards the fall of Rome is delineated, Rev. xvii. xviii. as of another Babylon; and it is declared that she shall be destroyed by fire, and her destruction shall be a complete and total destruction, such as hath never yet been the fate of Rome. Some of the princes, who were once of her communion, 'shall hate' her as much as they loved her, 'and burn her with fire.' It is farther intimated that she shall be swallowed up by a subterraneous fire, shall sink 'like a great millstone in the sea,' and 'her smoke shall rise up for ever and ever:' and the soil and situation of Rome and the neighbouring countries greatly favour such a supposition. As St John saith, xi. 8. she 'spiritually is called Sodom;' and she shall resemble Sodom in her punishment as well as in her crimes. After the subversion of the capital city, Rev. xix. 'the beast and the false prophet,' the powers civil and ecclesiastical, with those who still adhere to their party, shall make one effort more; but it shall prove as weak and vain, as it is impious; they shall both be taken, and cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone.' The destruction of Antichrist therefore, of himself as well as of his seat, shall be in a terrible manner 'by fire.' Daniel asserts the same thing, vii. 11. 'I beheld then because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake, I beheld even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame.' So likewise saith St Paul 2 Thess. i. 7, 8. 'The Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ:' and more particularly, ii. 8. 'The Lord shall consume the wicked one, *the man of sin*, with the spirit of

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his mouth, and shall destroy him with the brightness of his coming. [illegible] about the time of the fall both the Othman empire and of the Christian Antichrist, the Jews shall turn to the Lord, and be restored to their own land. Innumerable are the prophecies concerning the conversion and restoration of the people. Hear only what Hosea saith, who prophesied before the captivity of the ten tribes of Israel, iii. 4, 5. 'The children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image or altar, and without an ephod, and without teraphim' or divine manifestations. 'Afterward shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God, and David their king, and shall fear the Lord and his goodness in the latter days.' Hear also what Ezekiel saith, who prophesied during the captivity of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, xxxvii. 21, 25. 'Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I will take the children of Israel from among the heathen, whither they be gone, and will gather them on every side, and bring them into their own land: And they shall dwell in the land that I have given unto Jacob my servant, wherein your fathers have dwelt, and they shall dwell therein, even they and their children, and their childrens children for ever, and my servant David shall be their prince for ever,' xxxvii. 28, 29. 'Then shall they know that I am the Lord their God, who caused them to be led into captivity among the heathen, but I have gathered them unto their own land, and have left none of them any more there: Neither will I hide my face any more from them; for I have poured out my spirit upon the house of Israel, saith the Lord God.' Ye cannot but remember what St Paul saith upon the same occasion, Rom. xi. 25. 'I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come, and so all Israel shall be saved.' Now these and the like predictions, we suppose, will take effect, and this great revolution be accomplished, about the time of the fall of the Othman empire, and of the Christian Antichrist. Ezekiel's 'Gog and Magog,' xxxviii. xxxix. we believe to be the Turks or Othmans, and 'they shall come up against the children of Israel in the

latter

latter days' to oppoſe their re-ſettlement in their own land, 'and they ſhall fall' in ſome extraordinary manner 'upon the mountains of Iſrael, they and the people that is with them: ſo the houſe of Iſrael ſhall know that I am the Lord their God, from that day and forward.' Daniel too, xi. 45. xii. 1. predicts the fall of the king of the north 'upon the glorious holy mountain: And at that time ſhall Michael ſtand up, the great prince who ſtandeth for the children of Iſrael.' The reſtoration of the Jews and the fall of Antichriſt ſhall alſo happen about the ſame time. If 'the ſixth vial,' Rev. xvi. 12. which 'is poured out upon the great river Euphrates, whoſe waters are dried up to prepare a paſſage for the kings of the eaſt,' is to be underſtood, as Mr Mede and others think, of the return of the Jews; then the return of the Jews is one of the ſeven laſt plagues of Antichriſt. But this notion is expreſſed more clearly in Daniel, as it more immediately concerned his people, xi. 36. 'He ſhall proſper till the indignation,' that is, God's indignation againſt the Jews, 'be accompliſhed:' and again afterwards xii. 7. 'When God ſhall have accompliſhed to ſcatter the power of the holy people, all theſe things ſhall be finiſhed.' In conſequence and conformity to this doctrine a tradition hath prevailed * among the Jews, that the deſtruction of Rome and the redemption of Iſrael ſhall fall out about the ſame time.

When theſe great events ſhall come to paſs, of which we collect from the prophecies this to be the proper order; the two teſtifient witneſſes ſhall be greatly exalted, and the 1260 years of their propheſying in ſackcloth and of the tyranny of the beaſt ſhall end together; the converſion and reſtoration of the Jews ſucceed; then follows the ruin of the Ottoman empire, and then the total deſtruction of Rome and of Antichriſt. When theſe great events, I ſay, ſhall come to paſs, then ſhall the kingdom of Chriſt commence, or the reign of the ſaints upon earth. So Daniel expreſsly informs us, that the kingdom of Chriſt and the ſaints will be raiſed upon the ruins of the kingdom of Antichriſt; vii. 26, 27. 'But the judgment ſhall ſit' and they ſhall take away his dominion, to conſume and to deſtroy

* See Placita Hebræorum Doctorum de Babylonis ſeu Romæ excidio in Mede's works, B. 5. chap. 8. p. 902.

deſtroy it unto the end: And the kingdom, and dominion, and the greatneſs of the kingdom under the whole heaven, ſhall be given to the people of the ſaints of the moſt High, whoſe kingdom is an everlaſting kingdom, and all dominion ſhall ſerve and obey him.' So likewiſe St John ſaith, that upon the final deſtruction of 'the beaſt and the falſe prophet,' Rev. xx. 'Satan is bound for a thouſand years; and I ſaw thrones, and they ſat upon them, and judgment was given unto them; and I ſaw the ſouls of them that were beheaded for the witneſs of Jeſus and for the word of God, and which had not worſhipped the beaſt, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Chriſt a thouſand years; But the reſt of the dead lived not again until the thouſand years were finiſhed. This is the firſt reſurrection.' It is I conceive, to theſe great events, the fall of Antichriſt, the re-eſtabliſhment of the Jews, and the beginning of the glorious millennium, that the three different dates in Daniel of 1260 years, 1290 years, and 1335 years are to be referred: and as Daniel ſaith, xii. 12. 'Bleſſed is he that waiteth and cometh to the 1335 years;' ſo St John ſaith, xx. 6. 'Bleſſed and holy is he that hath part in the firſt reſurrection.' Bleſſed and happy indeed will be this period; and it is very obſervable, that the martyrs and confeſſors of Jeſus, in popiſh as well as in pagan times, will be raiſed to partake of this felicity. Then ſhall all thoſe gracious promiſes in the Old Teſtament be fulfilled of the amplitude and extent, of the peace and proſperity, of the glory and happineſs of the church in the latter days. Then in the full ſenſe of the words, Rev. xi. 15. 'ſhall the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Chriſt, and he ſhall reign for ever and ever.' According to * tradition theſe thouſand years of the reign of Chriſt and the ſaints will be the ſeventh millennary of the world: for as God created the world in ſix days and reſted on the ſeventh, ſo the world, it is argued, will continue ſix thouſand years, and the ſeventh thouſand will be the great *ſabbatiſm* or holy reſt to the people of God; 'one day,' 2 Pet. iii. 8. 'being with the Lord as a thouſand years, and a thouſand years as one day.'

* See Burnet's Theory, B. 3. Ch. 5. B. 4. Ch. 6.

day.' According to * tradition too theſe thouſand years of the reign of Chriſt and the ſaints are 'the great day of judgment;' in the morning or beginning whereof ſhall be the coming of Chriſt in flaming fire, and the particular judgment of Antichriſt, and the firſt reſurrection; and in the evening or concluſion whereof ſhall be the general reſurrection of the dead, 'ſmall and great, *and* they ſhall be judged every man according to their works.'

Prudence as well as modeſty requires, that we ſhould forbear all curious inquiries into the nature and condition of this future kingdom; as how Satan ſhould be bound for a thouſand years, and afterwards looſed again; how the raiſed ſaints ſhall cohabit with the living, and judge and govern the world; how Chriſt ſhall manifeſt himſelf to them, and reign among them: how the new Jeruſalem, the city and church of the living God, ſhall deſcend from heaven to earth; how Satan ſhall at laſt deceive the nations, and what nations they ſhall be. Theſe are points which the Holy Spirit hath not thought fit to explain; and folly may eaſily aſk more queſtions about them, than wiſdom can anſwer. Wiſdom, in the myſterious things of God, and eſpecially in the myſterious things of futurity, will ſtill adhere to the words of ſcripture; and having ſeen the completion of ſo many particulars, will reſt contented with believing that theſe alſo ſhall be, without knowing how they ſhall be. It is of the nature of moſt prophecies not to be fully underſtood, till they are fully accompliſhed, and eſpecially prophecies relating to a ſtate ſo different from the preſent as the millennium. Perfectly to comprehend theſe and all other prophecies may conſtitute a part of the happineſs of that period, for then they will all be fulfilled, and the myſtery of God ſhall be finiſhed.' This however is very evident, that wickedneſs would ſoon over-run the world, if not reſtrained by an over-ruling-providence; for no ſooner is Satan looſed again; than 'the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth' come up againſt the holy city' the number of whom is as the ſand of the ſea:' And therefore at the time appointed, after the general judgment, this world ſhall be deſtroyed, 2 Pet. iii. 10. 'the heavens ſhall paſs away

* Placita Hebræorum Doctorum de Magno die Judicii in Medea 1535. B. 5. Ch. 8. p. 892.

away with a great noiſe, and the elements ſhall melt with fervent heat, the earth alſo, and the works that are therein ſhall be burnt up.' Thus, Rev. xxi. 1. 'the firſt heaven and the firſt earth ſhall paſs away, *and* a new heaven *and* a new earth' ſhall ſucceed, 2. Pet. iii. 13. 'wherein dwelleth righteouſneſs;' Rev. xxi. 3, 4. 'God himſelf ſhall be with men, and be their God; and there ſhall be no more death, neither ſorrow nor pain, for the former things are paſſed away.' 1 Cor. xv. 24, &c. 'Then cometh the end, when Chriſt ſhall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he ſhall have put down all rule, and all authority, and power. For he muſt reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet: the laſt enemy that ſhall be deſtroyed is death. And when all things ſhall be ſubdued unto him, then ſhall the Son alſo himſelf be ſubject unto him, that put all things under him, that God may be all in all.

Since then the corruptions of popery are ſo particularly foretold in ſcripture, and make ſo conſiderable a part of the ancient prophets, we have the leſs reaſon to be ſurpriſed and offended at them. While the Papiſts endeavour to corrupt and adulterate the doctrines of the prophets and apoſtles, they ſtill accompliſh their predictions. While they labour to deſtroy Chriſtianity in one part, they unwittingly confirm and eſtabliſh it in another. And ſince a time is certainly coming, wherein God will avenge himſelf on theſe idolaters, and require the blood of his ſervants at their hands, let us wait with 'the faith and the patience of ſaints,' till it be accompliſhed. We have ſeen the prophecies remarkably fulfilled in their ſucceſs, and we ſhall ſee them as remarkably fulfilled too in their deſtruction. The power of the Pope is nothing near ſo great now as it was ſome years ago: It received its death-wound at the Reformation, of which it may languiſh for a time, but will never entirely recover, though its laſt ſtruggles and efforts, like thoſe of a dying monſter, may be terrible and dangerous. In the end, the goſpel will prevail over all enemies and oppoſers.: Matt. xxi. 44. 'Whoſoever ſhall fall on this ſtone, ſhall be broken; but on whomſoever it ſhall fall, it will grind him to powder.' We will conclude our diſcourſe with the words of Ezra, ſo very applicable to us of the reformed religion: ix. 13, 14.

14. 'After all that is come upon us for our evil deeds, and for our great treſpaſs, ſeeing that thou our God haſt punished us leſs than our iniquities deſerve, and haſt given us ſuch deliverance as this,' a deliverance from the yoke and tyranny of the church of Rome; 'ſhould we again break thy commandments, and join in affinity with the people of theſe abominations, wouldſt thou not be angry with us till thou hadſt conſumed us, ſo that there ſhould be no remnant nor eſcaping?'

CONCLUSION.

FROM theſe inſtances, which have been produced, of prophecies and their completions, it is hoped, this concluſion may fairly be drawn in the words of St Peter, 2 Pet. i. 20, 21. that 'no prophecy of the ſcripture is of any private interpretation,' or the ſuggeſtion of any man's own ſpirit or fancy; for the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God ſpake as they were moved by the Holy Ghoſt.' Other inſtances might have been alledged to the ſame purpoſe: but thoſe prophecies which received their full accompliſhment in ancient times, and even thoſe which were accompliſhed in the perſon and actions of our bleſſed Saviour, are here conſidered; ſuch only as relate to theſe latter ages, and either in the whole or in part are now fulfilling in the world, are made the ſubjects of theſe diſſertations. This is proving our religion in ſome meaſure by ocular demonſtration, is not 'walking by faith' only, but alſo 'by ſight.' For you can have no reaſon to doubt of the truth of prophecy, and conſequently of the truth of revelation when you ſee inſtances of things, which could no ways depend upon human conjecture, foretold with the greateſt clearneſs, and fulfilled hundreds of years afterwards with the greateſt exactneſs. Nay, you ſee prophecies, the lateſt whereof was delivered about 1700 years ago, and ſome of them above 3000 years ago, fulfilling at this very time, and cities, countries, and kingdoms in the very ſame condition, and all brought about in the very ſame manner,

and

and with the very ſame circumſtances as the prophets had foretold.

You ſee the deſcendents of Shem and Japheth *ruling* and *enlarged* in Aſia and Europe, and perhaps in America, and 'the curſe of ſervitude' ſtill attending the wretched deſcendents of Ham in Africa. You ſee the poſterity of Iſhmael 'multiplied exceedingly,' and become 'a great nation' in the Arabians; yet living like 'wild men,' and ſhifting from place to place in the wilderneſs; 'their hand againſt every man, and every man's hand againſt them;' and ſtill *dwelling* an independent and free people, 'in the preſence of all their brethren,' and in the preſence of all their enemies. You ſee the family of Eſau totally extinct, and that of Jacob ſubſiſting at this day; 'the ſceptre departed from Judah,' and the people living no where in authority, every where in ſubjection; the Jews ſtill dwelling alone among the nations,' while 'the remembrance of Amalek' is 'utterly put out from under heaven.' You ſee the Jews ſeverely puniſhed for their infidelity and diſobedience to their great prophet like unto Moſes; plucked from off their own land, and removed into all the kingdoms of the earth; oppreſſed and ſpoiled evermore,' and made 'a proverb and a bye-word among all nations.' You ſee 'Ephraim ſo broken as to be no more a people,' while the whole nation is comprehended under the name of Judah; the Jews wonderfully preſerved as a diſtinct people, while their great conquerors are every where deſtroyed; their land lying deſolate, and themſelves cut off from being the people of God, while the Gentiles are advanced in their room. You ſee Nineveh ſo completely deſtroyed, that the place thereof is not, and cannot be known; Babylon made 'a deſolation for ever, a poſſeſſion for the bittern, and pools of water;' Tyre become 'like the top of a rock, a place for fiſhers to ſpread their nets upon;' and Egypt 'a baſe kingdom, the baſeſt of the kingdoms,' and ſtill tributary and ſubject to ſtrangers. You ſee of the four great empires of the world the fourth and laſt, which was greater and more powerful than any of the former, divided in the weſtern part thereof into ten leſſer kingdoms; and among them a power 'with a triple crown diverſe from the firſt,' with 'a mouth ſpeaking very great things,' and with 'a look more ſtout than his fellows, ſpeaking great words againſt the moſt High,' wearing out the ſaints of the moſt High, and

changing times and laws.' You ſee a power 'caſt down the truth to the ground, and proſper and practiſe, and deſtroy the holy people, not regarding the God of his fathers, nor the deſire of wives, but honouring Mahuzzim, Gods, protectors or ſaints-protectors, 'and cauſing' the prieſts of Mahuzzim 'to rule over many, and to divide the land for gain.' You ſee the Turks 'ſtretching forth their hand over the countries,' and particularly 'over the land of Egypt, the Lybians at their ſteps,' and the Arabians ſtill 'eſcaping out of their hand. You ſee the Jews 'led away captive into all nations, and Jeruſalem trodden down of the Gentiles,' and likely to continue ſo 'until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled,' as the Jews are by a conſtant miracle preſerved a diſtinct people for the completion of other prophecies relating to them. You ſee one 'who oppoſeth and exalteth himſelf' above all laws divine and human, 'ſitting as God in the church of God, and ſhewing himſelf that he is God, whoſe coming is after the working of Satan with all power and ſigns, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableneſs of unrighteouſneſs.' You ſee a great *apoſtacy* in the Chriſtian church, which conſiſts chiefly in the worſhip of *demons*, angels, or departed ſaints, and is promoted 'through the hypocriſy of liars, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abſtain from meats.' You ſee the ſeven churches of Aſia lying in the ſame forlorn and deſolate condition that the angel had ſignified to St John, their 'candleſtick removed out of its place,' their churches turned into moſques, their worſhip into ſuperſtition. In ſhort you ſee the characters of 'the beaſt and the falſe prophet,' and 'the whore of Babylon,' now exemplified in every particular, and in a city that is ſeated 'upon ſeven mountains;' ſo that if the biſhop of Rome had ſat for his picture, a greater reſemblance and likeneſs could not have been drawn.

As there is a near affinity between this and what Dr Clarke * hath ſaid in the concluſion of his diſcourſe of prophecies, it may be proper to confirm and illuſtrate the argument with ſo great an authority; and indeed theſe things are of ſuch importance, and ſo deſerving to be known, that they cannot be inculcated too frequently, nor ſhewn in too many lights.

"I

* Clarke's Works, Vol. 2. The evidences of natural and revealed religion. p. 730, &c.

"I shall conclude this head with pointing at some particular extraordinary prophecies, which deserve to be carefully considered and compared with the events, whether they could possibly have proceeded from chance or from enthusiasm. Some of them are of such a nature, as that they can only be judged of by persons learned in history; and these I shall but just mention. Others are obvious to the consideration of the whole world; and with those I shall finish what I think proper at this time to offer upon this subject.

"Concerning Babylon it was particularly foretold, that "it should be shut up and besieged by the Medes, Ela-"mites, and Arminians; that the river should be dried "up; that the city should be taken in the time of a feast, "while her mighty men were drunken;" Which accordingly came to pass, when Belshazzar and all his thousand princes, who were drunk with him at the feast, were slain by Cyrus's soldiers. Also it was particularly foretold, that "God would make the country of Babylon a pos-"session for the bittern and pools of water:" Which was accordingly fulfilled by the overflowing and drowning of it, on the breaking down of the great dam in order to take the city. Could the correspondence of these events with the predictions, be the result of chance; but suppose these predictions were forged after the event, can the following ones also have been written after the event; or with any reason be ascribed to chance? "The wild "beasts of the desert shall dwell there, and the owls shall "dwell therein: and it shall be no more inhabited for "ever, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to ge-"neration: As God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah, &c. "They shall not take of thee a stone for a corner, but "thou shalt be desolate for ever saith the Lord: Baby-"lon shall become heaps, a dwelling-place for dragons, "an astonishment and an hissing without an inhabitant: "It shall sink, and shall not rise from the evil that I will "bring upon her. Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, shall "be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah: It "shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in "from generation to generation: Neither shall the Ara-"bian pitch tent there, neither shall the shepherds make "their fold there; but wild beasts of the desert shall lie "there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, "and owls shall dwell there."

" Concerning Egypt, was the following prediction forged after the event? or can it, with any reason, be aſcribed to chance? Egypt ſhall be a baſe kingdom: it ſhall be the baſeſt of kingdoms, neither ſhall it exalt itſelf any more above the nations: For I will diminiſh them, that they ſhall no more rule over the nations."

Concerning Tyre, the prediction is no leſs remarkable: " I will make thee like the top of a rock; thou ſhalt be a place to ſpread nets upon; thou ſhalt be built no more. Thou ſhalt be no more; the merchants among the people ſhall hiſs at thee, thou ſhalt be a terror, and never ſhall be any more. All they that know thee, among the people, ſhall be aſtoniſhed at thee."

" The deſcription of the extent of the dominion of that people, who were to poſſeſs Judea in the latter days; was it forged after the event? or can it reaſonably be aſcribed to chance? He ſhall come with horſemen, and with many ſhips, and ſhall overflow and paſs over: He ſhall enter alſo into the glorious land, [and ſhall plant the tabernacles of his palace between the ſeas in the glorious holy mountain], and many countries ſhall be overthrown: But theſe ſhall eſcape out of his hand, even Edom and Moab and the chief of the children of Ammon. He ſhall ſtretch forth his hand alſo upon the countries, and the land of Egypt ſhall not eſcape. But he ſhall have power over the treaſures of gold and of ſilver, and over all the precious things of Egypt; and the Lybians and Ethiopians ſhall be at his ſteps."

" When Daniel, in the * viſion of Nebuchadnezzar's image foretold four great ſucceſſive monarchies; was this written after the event; or can the congruity of his deſcription with the things themſelves, reaſonably be aſcribed to mere chance?"

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" When the ſame Daniel foretels a tyrannical power, " which ſhould wear out the ſaints of the moſt High, and " they ſhall be given into his hand, until a time, and times, " and the dividing of time; and again for † a time, times, " and a half:" (Which can be no way applied to the ſhort

" perſecution

* " The fame of which was ſo nearly ſpread, that Ezekiel, who " was contemporary with Daniel, plainly alludes to him when he ſays of the prince of Tyre, Chap. XXVIII. 3. *Thou art wiſer than Daniel; there is no ſecret that they can hide from thee.*"

† " Three years and a half, or 1260 days, is, according to the analogy of all the forementioned numbers, 1260 years."

perſecution of Antiochus, becauſe theſe prophecies are expreſsly declared to be for many days; concerning "what "ſhall befal thy people in the latter days; for yet the viſion "is for many days; concerning the time of the end; what "ſhall be in the laſt end of the indignation; concerning "thoſe who ſhall fall by the ſword and by flame, by captivity and by ſpoil, many days; to try them, even to the "time of the end, becauſe it is yet for a time appointed; "concerning a time of trouble, ſuch as never was ſince there "was a nation; the time when God ſhall have accompliſhed to ſcatter the power of the holy people; the time of "the end, till which the words are cloſed up and ſealed; to "which the prophet is commanded to ſhut up his words "and ſeal the book, for many ſhall run to and fro, and "knowledge ſhall be increaſed; even the end, till which "Daniel was to reſt, and then ſtand in his lot at the end of "the days.") When Daniel, I ſay, foretels ſuch a tyrannical power, to continue ſuch a determined period of time: "And St John propheſies, that the Gentiles ſhould tread the "holy city under foot, forty and two months;" which is exactly the ſame period of time with that of Daniel: And again, that "two witneſſes clothed in ſackcloth ſhould pro-"propheſy a thouſand two hundred and threeſcore days;" which is again exactly the very ſame period of time: And again, that the woman which fled into the wilderneſs from perſecution, ſhould continue there "a thouſand two hundred "and threeſcore days:" And again that ſhe ſhould "fly into "the wilderneſs, for a time, and times, and half a time;" which is ſtill the very ſame period: And again, that "a "wild beaſt," a tyrannical power, "to whom it was given "to make war with the ſaints, and to overcome them," was to * "continue forty and two months," (ſtill the very ſame period of time) and to have "power over all kin-"dreds, and tongues, and nations, ſo that all that dwell

"* There has prevailed among learned men a very important "error, as if the 1260 days (or years) here ſpoken of, took their "beginning from the *riſe* of the tyranny here deſcribed. Whereas "on the contrary, the words of Daniel are expreſs, that, not from "the time of his *riſe*, but *after* his having made war with the ſaints, "and from the time of *their being given into his hand*, ſhould be *a "time and times and the dividing of time*, Ch. VII. 24, 25. And St John no "leſs expreſsly ſays, that the time, not of *the two witneſſes propheſying* "(for in part of that time they had *great power*), but of their *pro-"pheſying in ſackcloth*, ſhould be *a thouſand two hundred and threeſcore days*.

Rev.

"upon the earth ſhould worſhip him." Is it credible or poſſible that ignorant and enthuſiaſtical writers ſhould by mere chance hit upon ſuch coincidences of occult numbers? eſpecially ſince St John could not poſſibly take the numbers from Daniel, if he underſtood Daniel to mean nothing more than the ſhort perſecution of Antiochus. And if he did underſtand Daniel to mean a much longer and greater and more remote tyranny, which John himſelf propheſied of as in his time ſtill future; then the wonder is ſtill infinitely greater, that in thoſe early times, when there was not the leaſt footſtep in the world of any ſuch power as St John diſtinctly deſcribes, (but which now is very conſpicuous, as I ſhall more fully obſerve more particularly) it ſhould ever enter into the heart of man to conceive ſo much as the poſſibility of ſuch a power, ſitting not upon the pavilion of heathen perſecutors, but expreſsly, 2 Theſ. ii. 4. in the temple and upon the ſeat of God himſelf.

"But theſe prophecies, which either relate to particular places, or depend upon the computation of particular periods of time, are (as I ſaid) of ſuch a nature, as that they cannot be judged of, but by perſons ſkilled in hiſtory. There are ſome others more general, running through the whole ſcripture, and obvious to the conſideration of the whole world.

"For inſtance: It was foretold by Moſes, that when "the Jews forſook the true God, they ſhould be removed "into all the kingdoms of the earth; ſhould be ſcattered "among the Heathen, among the nations, among all "people from the one end of the earth even unto the o-"ther: ſhould there be left few in number among the Hea-"then, and pine away in their iniquity in their enemies "lands; and ſhould become an aſtoniſhment, a proverb, "and a bye-word, among all nations; and that among "theſe nations they ſhould find no eaſe, neither ſhould "the ſole of their foot have reſt; but the Lord ſhould "give them a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and "ſorrow of mind; and ſend a faintneſs into their hearts

"in

"Rev. xi. 3. And the *perſecuted woman*, after her flight, was to be "actually *in the wilderneſs of a thouſand two hundred and threeſcore days.* "ch. xii. 6. Wherefore alſo *the forty and two months*, (the very ſame "period) during which time *power was given unto the beaſt to con-*"*tinue*, (in the original it is *authority* to do what he pleaſed, Rev. "xiii. 5. evidently ought not to be reckoned from his *riſe* or from "the time when *the ten kings* (ch. XVII. 12.) *received power with him*; "but from the time of his having totally *overcome the ſaints*, and of "his *being worſhipped by all that dwell upon the earth*. ch. XIII. 7, 8.

"in the lands of their enemies; ſo that the ſound of a ſhaken leaf ſhould chaſe them." Had any thing like this, in Moſes's time, ever happened to any nation? Or was there in nature any probability, that any ſuch thing ſhould ever happen to any people? that, when they were conquered by their enemies, and led into captivity, they ſhould neither continue in the place of their captivity, nor be ſwallowed up and loſt among their conquerors, but be ſcattered among all the nations of the world, and hated by all nations for many ages, and yet continue a people; or could any deſcription of the Jews, written at this day poſſibly be a more exact and lively picture of the ſtate they have now been in for many ages; than this prophetic deſcription given by Moſes, more than 3000 years ago?

"The very ſame thing is in like manner continually predicted through all the following prophets; that God would "ſcatter them among the Heathen: that he would cauſe them "to be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth; that he "would ſcatter them into all the winds, and diſperſe them "through the countries of the Heathen; that he would ſift "them among all nations, like as corn is ſifted in a ſieve; "that in all the kingdoms of the earth, whither they ſhould "be driven, they ſhould be a reproach and a proverb, a taunt "and a curſe, and an aſtoniſhment and a hiſſing; and that "they ſhould abide many days without a king, and without "a prince, and without a ſacrifice, and without an image, "and without an ephod, and without teraphim." And here concerning the predictions of Ezekiel 'tis remarkable in particular, that they being ſpoken in the very time of the Babylonian captivity, 'tis therefore evident from the time of his propheſying, as well as from the nature and deſcription of the thing itſelf, that he muſt needs be underſtood of that latter 'captivity into all places,' which was to happen after the 'fulfilling the time of that age,' wherein God was firſt to 'bring them again' (out of the Babylonian captivity) 'into the land where they ſhould build a temple,' but 'not like to' that which 'afterwards' (after their final return) ſhould 'be built for ever with a glorious building.' The forecited prophecies (I ſay) muſt of neceſſity be underſtood of that wide and long diſperſion, which in the New Teſtament alſo is expreſsly mentioned by our Saviour and by St Paul.

"'Tis alſo farther, both *largely* and diſtinctly predicted, as well by Moſes himſelf, as by all the following prophets

phets, that notwithſtanding this unexampled diſperſion of God's people *yet for all that, when they be in the land of their enemies, God will not deſtroy them utterly; but when they ſhall call to mind among all the nations, whither God has driven them, and ſhall return unto the Lord, he will turn their captivity, and gather them from all nations, from the utmoſt parts of heaven, even in the latter days:* That *though he makes a full end of all other nations, yet he will not make a full end of them;* but *a remnant of them* ſhall be preſerved, *and return out of all countries whither God has driven them:* That *he will ſift the houſe of Iſrael among all nations, like as corn is ſifted in a ſieve: yet ſhall not the leaſt grain fall upon the earth:* That *the Lord ſet his hand again the ſecond time, to recover the remnant of his people, and ſhall ſet up an enſign for the nations, and ſhall aſſemble the out-caſts of Iſrael, and gather together the diſperſed of Judah, from the four corners of the earth:* For *I will bring thy ſeed from the eaſt,* ſaith the Lord, *and gather thee from the weſt; I will ſay to the north, Give up; and to the ſouth, Keep not back; Bring my ſons from far, and my daughters from the ends of the earth: Behold, I will lift up my hand to the Gentiles, and ſet up my ſtandard to the people, and they ſhall bring thy ſons in their arms, and thy daughters ſhall be carried upon their ſhoulders: For a ſmall moment have I forſaken thee, but with great mercy will I gather thee: In a little wrath I hid my face from thee, for a moment; but with everlaſting kindneſs will I have mercy on thee.* And that theſe prophecies might not be applied to the return from the 70 years captivity in Babylon, (which moreover was not a diſperſion into *all nations*), they are expreſsly referred to the *latter days*, not only by Moſes, but by Hoſea, who lived long after, (*For the children of Iſrael ſhall abide* MANY DAYS *without a king and without a prince, and without a ſacrifice;* AFTERWARD *they ſhall return, and ſeek the Lord their God, and David their king, and ſhall fear the Lord and his goodneſs in the* LATTER DAYS) and by Ezekiel, who lived in the captivity itſelf; *After* MANY DAYS [ſpeaking of thoſe who ſhould oppoſe the return of the Iſraelites] *thou ſhalt be viſited in the* LATTER YEARS, *thou ſhalt come into the land; upon the people that are gathered out of the nations; In that day, when my people of Iſrael dwelleth ſafely, thou ſhalt come up againſt them, it ſhall be in the* LATTER DAYS. [illegible]*edictions* therefore neceſſarily belong to that age when [illegible] *of the Gentiles* ſhall be *fulfilled*, and *the fulneſs of the Gentiles*

Gentiles be come in. And that, through all the changes which have happened in the kingdoms of the earth, from the days of Moſes to the preſent time, which is more than 3000 years; nothing ſhould have happened, to prevent the *poſſibility* of the accompliſhment of theſe prophecies; but on the contrary, the ſtate of the Jewiſh and Chriſtian nations at this day, ſhould be ſuch as renders them eaſily *capable* not only of a figurative but even of a literal completion in every particular, if the will of God be ſo; this (I ſay) is a *miracle*, which hath nothing parallel to it in the phænomena of nature.

"Another inſtance, no leſs extraordinary, is as follows: Daniel foretels *a kingdom upon the earth, which ſhall be diverſ from all kingdoms, divers from all that were before it, exceeding dreadful, and ſhall devour the whole earth:* That among the powers into which this kingdom ſhall be divided, there ſhall ariſe one power *divers from the reſt*, who ſhall *ſubdue* unto himſelf *three* of *the firſt* powers, and he ſhall have *a mouth ſpeaking very great things*, and *a look more ſtout than his fellows*. He ſhall *make war with the ſaints, and prevail againſt them. And he ſhall ſpeak great words againſt the moſt High, and ſhall wear out the ſaints of the moſt High, and think to change times and laws; and they ſhall be given into his hand*, for a long ſeaſon; even till *the judgment ſhall ſit, and the kingdom under the whole heaven ſhall be given to the people of the ſaints of the moſt High. He ſhall exalt himſelf and magnify himſelf above every God, and ſhall ſpeak marvellous things againſt the God of Gods;—Neither ſhall he regard* * *the God of his fathers nor* † *the deſire of women, nor regard any God; for he ſhall magnify himſelf above all. And in his eſtate ſhall he honour* ‡ *the God of forces, and* ‖ *a God whom his fathers knew not, ſhall be honour.—Thus ſhall he do in the moſt ſtrong holds with a ſtrange God, whom he ſhall acknowledge and increaſe with glory; and he ſhall cauſe them to rule over many, and ſhall divide the land for gain.* Suppoſe now all this to be ſpoken by Daniel, of nothing more than the ſhort perſecution under Antiochus Epiphanes; which that it cannot be, I have ſhewn above. But ſuppoſe it were, and that it was all forged after the event: Yet this cannot

* "*The God of Gods* as in the forgoing verſe."

† "*Forbidding to marry*, 1 Tim. IV. 3."

‡ "*God's protectors*, as 'tis in the margin of the Bible, or *ſaint-protectors*."

‖ *Changing times and laws*, Ch. VII. 25; ſetting up new religions.

not be the caſe of St Paul and St John, who deſcribe exactly a *like* power, and in *like words*; ſpeaking of things to come in the *latter days*, of things ſtill *future*, in *their* time, and of which there were then no footſteps, no appearance in the world. *The day of Chriſt*, ſaith St Paul, *ſhall not come, except there come a falling away firſt, and that man of ſin be revealed, the ſon of perdition: Who oppoſeth and exalteth himſelf above all that is called God, or that is worſhipped; ſo that he as God, ſitteth* * *in the temple of God, ſhewing himſelf that he is God: Whoſe coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and ſigns, and lying wonders; and with all deceivableneſs of unrighteouſneſs.* Again: *The Spirit ſpeaketh expreſsly, that in the latter times ſome ſhall depart from the faith, giving heed to ſeducing ſpirits, and* † *doctrines of devils;—Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abſtain from meats, &c.*—St John in like manner propheſies of a *wild beaſt*, or tyrannical power, to whom was given *great authority, and a mouth ſpeaking great things and blaſphemies: And he opened his mouth in blaſphemy againſt God: And it was given unto him to make war with the ſaints, and to overcome them; and power was given him over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations; and all that dwell upon the earth ſhall worſhip him*—And he that *exerciſeth his power before him—doth great wonders,—and deceiveth them that dwell upon the earth, by the means of thoſe miracles which he had power to do—And he*
" cauſeth that no man might buy or ſell ſave he that had
" the mark or the name of the beaſt;—And the kings of
" the earth have one mind, and ſhall give their power and
" ſtrength unto the beaſt;—even peoples, and multitudes,
" and nations, and tongues.—For God hath put in their
" hearts (in the hearts of the kings) to fulfil his will and
" to agree and give their kingdom unto the beaſt, until
" the words of God ſhall be fulfilled. The name of the
" perſon, in whoſe hands the reins or principal direction
" of the exerciſe of this power is lodged, is Myſtery Baby-
" lon the Great, the mother of harlots, and abominations
" of

* " 'Tis therefore a *Chriſtian* (not an *Infidel*) power, that he " here ſpeaks of."

† " Doctrines concerning *Demons*, that is, ghoſts or ſouls of " (good or bad) men departed. Epiphanius giving this text al- " leges the following words, as part of the text itſelf: ταυτα, φησι, γαρ ειρηκεν ὁ αποστολος, ὡς και εν τοις λογοις αναγινωσκομεν. *For they ſhall be, ſays the apoſtle; worſhippers of the dead, even as the dead were anciently worſhipped in Iſrael.* And he applies the whole to the worſhippers of the bleſſed Virgin. Hæreſ. 78. Sect. 22."

"of the earth: with whom the kings of the earth * have "committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth "have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication. "And she herself is drunken with the blood of the saints, "and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus: And by "her † forceries are all nations deceived: And in her is "found the blood of prophets, and of saints, and of all "that are slain upon the earth. And this person, (the "political person) to whom these titles and characters be- "long, is that great city (standing upon seven mountains) "which reigneth over the kings of the earth."

"If in the days of St Paul and St John, there was any footsteps of such a sort of power as this in the world; or, if there ever had been any such power in the world; or, if there was then any appearance of probability, that could make it enter into the heart of man to imagine, that there ever could be any such kind of power in the world, much less in *the temple* or church *of God:* And, if there be not now such a power actually and conspicuously exercised in the world: And if any picture of this power, drawn after the event, can now describe it more plainly and exactly than it was originally described in the words of the prophecy: Then may it with some degree of plausibleness be suggested, that the prophecies are nothing more than enthusiastic imaginations."

For these things you have the attestation of past, and the experience of present times; and you cannot well be deceived if you will only believe your own eyes and observation. You actually see the completion of many of the prophecies in the state of men and things around you, and you have the prophecies themselves recorded in books, which books have been read in public assemblies these 1700 or 2000 years, have been dispersed into several countries, have been translated into several languages, and quoted and commented upon by different authors of different ages and nations, so that there is no room to suspect so much as a possibility of forgery or illusion.

The prophecies too, though written by different men in different ages, have yet a visible connection and dependency, an entire harmony and agreement one with another. At the same time there is such perfect harmony, there is also

* "Have been led into idolatrous practices."

† "φαρμακειαι (πρὸς φαρμακας) methods of making men religious "without virtue."

alſo great variety; and the ſame things are foretold by different prophets in a different manner and with different circumſtances; and the latter uſually improves upon the former. They are all excellent in their different kinds; and you may obſerve the beauty and ſublimity of the ſtile and diction of the prophets even from thoſe quotations which have been made from their writings. Indeed they are very well worthy of your ſerious peruſal and meditation, not only conſidered as prophets, but conſidered even as authors, for their noble images and deſcriptions, their bold tropes and figures, their inſtructive precepts, their pathetical exhortations, and other excellencies, which would have been admired in any ancient writers whatever.

Obſcurities there are indeed in the prophetic writings, for which many good reaſons may be aſſigned, and this particularly, becauſe prophecies are the only ſpecies of writing, which is deſigned more for the inſtruction of future ages than of the times wherein they are written. If the prophecies had been delivered in plainer terms, ſome perſons might be for haſtening their accompliſhment, as others might attempt to defeat it; men's actings would not appear ſo free, nor God's providence ſo conſpicuous in their completion. But though ſome parts are obſcure enough to exerciſe the church, yet others are ſufficiently clear to illuminate it; and the obſcure parts, the more they are fulfilled, the better they are underſtood. In this reſpect, as the world groweth older, it groweth wiſer. Time that detracts ſomething from the evidence of other writers, is ſtill adding ſomething to the credit and authority of the prophets. Future ages will comprehend more than the preſent, as the preſent underſtands more than the paſt: and the perfect accompliſhment will produce a perfect knowledge of all the prophecies.

In any explication of the prophecies you cannot but obſerve the ſubſerviency of human learning to the ſtudy of divinity. One thing is particularly requiſite, a competent knowledge of hiſtory ſacred and profane, ancient and modern. Prophecy is, as I may ſay, hiſtory anticipated and contracted; hiſtory is prophecy accompliſhed and dilated: and the prophecies of ſcripture contain, as you ſee, the fate of the moſt conſiderable nations, and the ſubſtance of the moſt memorable tranſactions in the world from the earlieſt to the lateſt times. Daniel and

St John, with regard to theſe latter times, are more copious and particular than the other prophets. They exhibit a ſeries and ſucceſſion of the moſt important events from the firſt of the four great empires to the conſummation of all things. Their prophecies may really be ſaid to be a ſummary of the hiſtory of the world, and the hiſtory of the world is the beſt comment upon their prophecies. I muſt confeſs it was my application to hiſtory, that firſt ſtruck me, without thinking of it, with the amazing juſtneſs of the ſcripture-prophecies. I obſerved the predictions all along to be verified in the courſe of events: and the more you know of ancient and modern times, and the farther you ſearch into the truth of hiſtory, the more you will be ſatisfied of the truth of prophecy. They are only pretenders to learning and knowledge, who are patrons of infidelity. You have heard, in theſe diſcourſes, of the two greateſt men, whom this country, or perhaps the whole world hath produced, the Lord Bacon and Sir Iſaac Newton, the one wiſhing for a hiſtory of the ſeveral prophecies of ſcripture compared with the events, the other writing Obſervations upon the prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalyps of St John: and the teſtimony of two ſuch (not to mention others) is enough to weigh down the authority of all the infidels who ever lived.

You ſee what ſtanding monuments the Jews are every where of divine vengeance for their infidelity; and beware therefore of the like crime, leſt the like puniſhment ſhould follow; 'for, Rom. xi. 21. if God ſpared not the natural branches, take heed leſt he alſo ſpare not thee.' Our infidelity would be worſe even than that of the Jews, for, they receive and own the prophecies, but do not ſee and acknowledge their completion in Jeſus, whereas our modern infidels reject both the prophecy and the completion together. But what ſtrange diſingenuity muſt it be, when there is all the evidence that hiſtory can afford for the prophecy, and in many caſes even ocular demonſtration for the completion, to be ſtill obſtinate and unbelieving? May we not very properly beſtow upon ſuch perſons that juſt reproach of our Saviour, Luke xxiv. 25. 'O fools, and ſlow of heart to believe all that the prophets have ſpoken!' But I have good hope and confidence in God,

that, Heb. x. 39. 'we are not of them who draw back unto perdition, but of them who believe to the ſaving of the ſoul.'

Indeed if it was once or twice only that the thing had ſucceeded and the event had fallen out agreeably to the prediction, we ſhould not ſo much wonder, we ſhould not lay ſuch a ſtreſs upon it; it might be aſcribed to a lucky contingency, or owing to rational conjecture; but that ſo many things, ſo very unlikely ever to happen, ſhould be ſo particularly foretold, and ſo many ages afterwards ſo punctually fulfilled, tranſcends without doubt all the ſkill and power of man, and muſt be reſolved into the omniſcience and omnipotence of God. Nothing certainly can be a ſtronger proof of a perſon's acting by divine commiſſion, and ſpeaking by divine inſpiration; and it is aſſigned in ſcripture as the teſt and criterion between a true and a falſe prophet, Deut. xviii. 22. 'When a prophet ſpeaketh in the name of the Lord, if the thing follow not nor come to paſs, that is the thing which the Lord hath not ſpoken, but the prophet hath ſpoken it preſumptuouſly; and in another place, Jer xxviii. 9. 'The prophet who propheſieth of peace, when the word of the prophet ſhall come to paſs, then ſhall the prophet be known that the Lord hath truly ſent him.' It is ſo much the peculiar prerogative of God, or of thoſe who are commiſſioned by him, certainly to foretel future events, that it is made a challenge to all the falſe gods, Iſ. xli. 21, 28. 'Produce your cauſe, ſaith the Lord; bring forth your ſtrong reaſons, ſaith the king of Jacob; Show the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are gods.' Lying oracles have been in the world; but all the wit and malice of men and devils cannot produce any ſuch prophecies as are recorded in ſcripture: and what ſtronger atteſtations can you require to the truth and divinity of the doctrine? No man can bring with him more authentic credentials of his coming from God: and the more you ſhall conſider and underſtand them, the more you will be convinced that, Rev. xix. 10. 'the teſtimony of Jeſus is the ſpirit of prophecy.

If to the prophecies you add the miracles, ſo voluntary and beneficial, ſo publicly wrought and ſo credibly atteſted above any other matters of fact whatever, by thoſe

who

who were eye-witneſſes of them, and ſealed the truth of their teſtimony with their blood; if to theſe external confirmations you add likewiſe the internal excellence of Chriſtianity, the goodneſs of the doctrine itſelf ſo moral, ſo perfect, ſo divine, and the purity and perfection of its motives and ſanctions, above any other ſyſtem of morality or religion in the world: if you ſeriouſly conſider and compare all theſe things together, it is almoſt impoſſible not to feel conviction and to cry out, as Thomas did after handling our Saviour, John xx. 28. 'My Lord and my God!' This is only one argument out of many, that there muſt be a divine revelation, if there is any truth in prophecy: and there muſt be truth in prophecy, as we have ſhewn in ſeveral inſtances, and might ſhew in ſeveral more, if there is any dependence upon the teſtimony of others, or upon our own ſenſes, upon what we read in books, or upon what we ſee in the world.

Men are ſometimes apt to think, that if they could but ſee a miracle wrought in favour of religion, they would readily reſign all their ſcruples, believe without doubt, and obey without reſerve. The very thing that you deſire, you have. You have the greateſt and moſt ſtriking of miracles in the ſeries of ſcripture-prophecies accompliſhed; accompliſhed, as we ſee, in the preſent ſtate of almoſt all nations, the Africans, the Egyptians, the Arabians, the Turks, the Jews, the Papiſts, the Proteſtants, Nineveh, Babylon, Tyre, the ſeven churches of Aſia, Jeruſalem and Rome. And this is not a tranſient miracle, ceaſing almoſt as ſoon as performed; but is permanent, and protracted through the courſe of many generations. It is not a miracle delivered only upon the report of others, but is ſubject to your own inſpection and examination. It is not a miracle exhibited only before a certain number of witneſſes, but is open to the obſervation and contemplation of all mankind; and after ſo many ages is ſtill growing, ſtill improving to future ages. What ſtronger miracle therefore can you require for your conviction? or what will avail if this be found ineffectual? Alas, if you reject the evidence of prophecy, neither would you be perſuaded though one ſhould riſe from the dead. What can be plainer? You ſee or may ſee with your own eyes the ſcripture-prophecies accom-

plished; and if the ſcripture-prophecies are accompliſhed, the ſcripture muſt be the word of God; and if the ſcripture is the word of God, the Chriſtian religion muſt be true.

It is hoped, therefore, that the ſame addreſs may be applied to you, which St Paul made to king Agrippa, Acts xxvi. 27, 28. 'Believeſt thou the prophets? I know that thou believeſt:' and God diſpoſe your heart to anſwer again, Not only 'almoſt, but altogether thou perſuadeſt me to be a Chriſtian!' For your encouragement remember, that, Matth. x. 41. 'he who receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet, ſhall receive a prophet's reward.' Wherefore, 1 Theſſ. v. 19, &c. 'quench not the Spirit; deſpiſe not prophеſying; prove all things, hold faſt that which is good.' The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with you. *Amen.*

A GENERAL

GENERAL INDEX.

The Letters denote the Volume, and the Figures the Page.

A

ABOMINATION *of deſolation ſtanding in the holy place*, the meaning of that expreſſion, ii. 167, &c. why the Roman army is called *the abomination*, 167.

Abraham the patriarch of the greateſt renown, i. 20. favoured with ſeveral revelations, 20. thoſe concerning Iſhmael, conſidered, 21. the prophecies about Iſhmael and his poſterity, how fulfilled, 21. thoſe about the Iſraelites, how accompliſhed, 35.

Abſtinence from meats, a note and character of the apoſtacy, ii. 285.

Acilius, the Roman conſul, routs Antiochus, and expels him out of Greece, ii. 71.

Aelius Adrian, the Roman emperor, builds Ælia inſtead of Jeruſalem, ii. 198. deſtroys and diſperſes the Jews, 198.

Agag, *his king ſhall be higher than Agag*, that part of *Balaam's* prophecy explained, i. 70.

Agathocles, diſſolute and proud in the exerciſe of his power, ii. 77. the people of Alexandria rife againſt him, 77. cauſe him, his relations and aſſociates to be put to death, 77.

Alaric and the Goths invade Italy and beſiege Rome, iii. 64.

Alexander the Great, his deſigns againſt the Arabs prevented by his death, i. 27. the rapidity of his conqueſts, ii. 37. the three chief battles he had with the king of Perſia, 39. is met by the high-prieſt in his way to Jeruſalem, 40. enters the temple, and the prophecies of Daniel are ſhewn him, 41. characterized in that book, 47. his death and the miſerable end of his family,

mily, 42, 47. is succeeded by four of his captains, 42, 49.
Alexander Severus, a just and provident emperor, iii. 49.
Alexandria, after a long siege, taken by the Saracens, i. 213. the famous library there, when founded and when destroyed, 213.
Alfric in England, in the tenth century, writes against transubstantiation, ii. 207.
Amalekites, Balaam's prophecy against them, how fulfilled, i. 77.
Ambrose, his affirmation about Antichrist, ii. 253.
Angel, flying in the midst of heaven and preaching the everlasting gospel, iii. 162. what meant by saying, *The hour of his judgment is come*, 162.
Angels, seven, having the seven last plagues, iii. 171. pour out the vials of the wrath of God upon the earth, 173.
Antichrist, what mistaken notions the fathers had in this matter, and how, i. 260. how long he is to continue, 271. he and the man of sin, one and the same person, ii. 252. the opinion of Justin Martyr, Origen, the reformers and others about him, 252, &c. how the true notion was suppressed, and revived again with the reformation, 254. how afterwards it became unfashionable, and now grows into repute again, 258. the blindness of the papists in this point, 259. notorious for idolatry and detestable cruelty, iii. 186. all his power shall be completely subdued, and Rome itself destroyed, 248. described by Daniel and the prophets, 246. the prophets describe his downfal, manner, and circumstances of it, 246.
Antigonus, his attempts against the Arabs not successful, i. 27.
Antiochus Epiphanes, succeeds his brother Seleucus Philopater, ii. 86. obtains the kingdom by flatteries, 87. the epithet of vile or despicable given him by the prophet Daniel, 87. though frantic and extravagant, yet successful and victorious, 88. prefers Jason to the high priesthood, 88. afterwards advances Menelaus in his room, 89. extravagant in various instances, 90. comes to Joppa and Jerusalem, 91. his great success against Egypt, 92. pretends to take care of the interest of his nephew Ptolemy, 93. determines to be revenged [illegible] people of Jerusalem for rejoicing at the report

report of his death, 95. takes that city and acts with great cruelty, 96. sends Apollonius afterwards to Jerusalem, who defiles the city and sets up the heathen worship, 99. the various opinions about the prophecies of Daniel being accomplished in Antiochus, 102. assigns two cities for maintaining his favourite concubine Antiochis, 103. the awful manner of his death, i. 120.

Antiochus Magnus, succeeds his brother in the throne of Syria, ii. 73. his army being defeated by Ptolemy, is forced to solicit a peace, 74. kills the rebel Achæus and reduces the eastern parts, 76. acquires great riches, 77. rises up against young Ptolemy, 77. takes possession of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, 78. defeats, Scopas Ptolemy's general, 78. aspires after more conquest and dominion, 76, marries his daughter Cleopatra to Ptolemy, 77. engages in a war with the Romans, 78. is routed at the Straits of Thermopylæ, 79. the latter end of his life very mean, 79. attempting to plunder the temple of Jupiter Belus is slain, &c.

Apocalyps. See Revelation.

Apostacy of the latter times, St Paul's prophecy about this, ii. 259. the nature of that apostacy, 262. it was general, 263. some particulars of this apostacy about demons and worshipping of the dead, 273. was to prevail in the latter times, 273. prophesied of by Daniel, 278. by what means to be propagated, 278, the notes and characters of this apostacy, 259, 261, 262, 274, 277, 276, 279, &c.

Arabians, differs to acknowledge Alexander the great, i. 27. his designs executed against them by his death, 27. beautiful lands and fruitful valleys in their country, 25. have always maintained their independency against the nations, 25. war against the Egyptians and Assyrians, 26. against the Persians, 26. against Alexander and his successors, 27. against the Romans, 28. their state under their prophet Mohammed and afterwards, and now under the Turks, 29. &c. what is said of them by late travellers, 30. their retaining the same disposition and manners for so many ages, wonderful, 33. the prophecies concerning this people signally fulfilled in their being preserved and not conquered, 34.

the

the Arabs in ſome reſpects reſemble the Jews, 35. never yet ſubdued by the Turks, ii. 382. rob and plunder the Turks as well as other travellers, 118. compared to locuſts, iii. 71, 79. the kingdoms and dominions acquired by them, 75. the time aſſigned for their hurting and tormenting men, 75.

Arnold of Breſcia, in the twelfth century, burnt for preaching againſt the temporal power of the pope and clergy, iii. 112.

Aſhur. *And ſhall afflict Ashur*, what meant by theſe words in Balaam's prophecy, i. 83.

Aſia, the ſeven epiſtles to the ſeven churches there, iii. 28, 33. why theſe ſeven addreſſed particularly, 32. the excellent form and ſtructure of theſe epiſtles, 32. in what ſenſe prophetical, 33. the preſent ſtate of theſe once flouriſhing churches, 33—38. the churches lay in a circular form, 38. their method and order obſerved in addreſſing them, 38. their preſent ſtate a very ſtrong proof of the truth of prophecy, 39.

Aſſyrians terrible enemies both to Iſrael and Judah, i. 235. Iſaiah's prophecy againſt them, 136. See Nineveh.

Attila, with his Huns lays waſte Macedon and Greece, Gaul and Italy, iii. 66. the ſcourge of God and terror of men, 67.

Auſtin, his opinion about Antichriſt, iii. 253.

B

BABYLON, prophecies concerning it, 151—172. it as well as Nineveh, an enemy to the people of God, 151. a great and ancient city, 151. conſiderably improved by Nebuchadnezzar, 152. one of the wonders of the world, 152. its deſtruction foretold by Iſaiah and Jeremiah, 153. prophecies about Cyrus the conqueror, of Babylon, fulfilled, 154. the time of its reduction foretold, 155. beſieged by the Medes and Perſians, 155. Armenians and other nations united againſt it, 156. the Babylonians hide themſelves within their walls, 156. the river dried up, 156. the city taken during a feaſt, 158. the facts related by Herodotus and Xenophon, and therefore no room for ſcepticiſm, 159. the prophets foretold its total deſolation, 160. theſe prophecies fulfilled by degrees, 160. its

ſtate under Cyrus, 161. under Darius, 161. under Xerxes, 163. the accounts of it ſince that time by Diodorus, 163. by Strabo, 165. by Pliny, 165. by Pauſanius, 165. by Maximus, Tyrius, and Lucian, 166. by Jerome, 166. accounts by later authors, 166. by Benjamin of Tudela, 167. by Texeria, 166. by Rauwon, 167. by Peter della Valle, 168. by Tavernier, 168. by Salmon, 169. by Mr Hanway, 169. by theſe accounts it appears how punctually the prophecies were fulfilled, 170.

Babylon, the fall and deſtruction of ſpiritual Babylon, iii. 164. after her fall becomes a ſcene of deſolation, 194. the fall of Roman Babylon and her ſudden deſtruction, 195, 197. the conſequences of her fall, the lamentations of ſome and the rejoicings of others, 198. her irrecoverable and utter deſolations, 199. the church joins in praiſes and thankſgivings to God for his truth and righteouſneſs in judging this idolatrous city, 200. a prophecy about Babylon particularly, fulfilled, 386.

Babylonian, the firſt of the four empires, compared to a lion, i. 244. with eagle's wings, 244. with a man's heart, 246.

Bacon (Lord) wiſheth for a hiſtory of the prohecies compared with the events, i. 1. how he would have it written, iii. 120.

Badby, convicted of herely and burnt in Smithfield, iii. 124. refuſes an offered pardon, and chooſes to die with a good conſcience, 124.

Balaam, the prophet, a heathen, and an immoral man, i. 64. the ſtory of Balaam's aſs conſidered, 65. the ſtile of his prophecies beautiful, 67. his prophecy of the ſingular character of the Jewiſh nation, how fulfilled to this day, 68. his prophecy of their victories much the ſame as Iſaac's and Jacob's, 69. that of the king higher than Agag, how fulfilled, 70. his preface to his latter prophecies explained, 71. his prophecy of a ſtar and ſcepter to ſmite the prince of Moab, how fulfilled, 72. who meant by the ſons of Sheth, 73. ſome parts of this prophecy underſtood of the Meſſiah and David, 74. his prophecy againſt the Amalekites, how fulfilled, 77. againſt the Kenites, and who the Kenites were, 79. his prophecies of the coaſt of Chittim

tim, of Aſhur and Eber, 81. what concluſions to be drawn from the prophecies of this wicked man, 85.
Baronius, his character of the tenth century, ii. 105.
Baſnage, a remarkable paſſage in his ſtory about the Jews, i. 107. his reaſons for the Jews not dwelling at Jeruſalem, ii. 208.
Beaſt, with ſeven heads and ten horns deſcribed iii. 142. denotes a tyrannical idolatrous empire, 188. marks whereby the beaſt was diſtinguiſhed, 144. his words and actions wonderful, 147. his blaſphemies 148. his making war with the ſaints, 149. the myſtery of the beaſt that carrieth the woman, 187. the myſtery of the beaſt with the ſeven heads and ten horns, 189. the beaſt with two horns deſcribed, 150—160. his power and authority, 150. pretends to ſupport it by great ſigns and wonders, 152. what meant by the image of the beaſt, 153. what by his mark or character, 154. thoſe without his mark not ſuffered to buy or ſell, 155. the number of the beaſt explained, 155. the ſtruggles of the true church with the beaſt, 160. the ruin and deſtruction of them who worſhip the beaſt, 160. denunciation of judgments againſt the followers of the beaſt, 180. the threefold ſtate of the beaſt, 188. the explication of its ſeven heads and ten horns, 189. the power and ſtrength given to the beaſt, 121.
Benjamin, this tribe became an appendage to Judah, i. 57. the prophecy of Jacob concerning them fulfilled, 50.
Benjamin of Tudela, his travels to Jeruſalem, i. 104. his account of its deſolate ſtate, 104.
Berengarius writes againſt tranſubſtantiation, iii. 189. compelled to burn his writings, 110. his numerous followers, 110.
Bernice, daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus, married to Antiochus Theus, i. 69. her father called the dowry-giver, 69. is murdered by order of Laodice, 69.
Bernard, inveighs againſt the corruption of the clergy and tyranny of the popes, iii. 221.
Bertram, inſcribes his book to the Emperor, iii. 203. his opinion againſt the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, 203.
Bohemians, their opinions in religion, iii. 126. fight for their religion, and are victorious at firſt, iii. 128. are defeated, and retire to the mountains and caves, 128.

Bolinbroke, Lord, cenſured for his indecent reflections on Noah's prophecy, i. 18. his ignorance about the Codex Alexandrinus, 18. his blunder about the Roman hiſtorians, 19. his ſneer about believers refuted, 19. condemned by himſelf, 19. had great talents, but miſapplied them, 20.

Book, viſion of the angel with the little book, iii. 87. the contents of it, i. 90.

Boyle, Mr, the lecture founded by him, ii. 15. the author appointed to preach that lecture, 15. the ſubject agreeable to the deſign of the founder, 24. his merits and excellence, 25.

Britain, Chriſtianity planted in it before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, ii. 164.

Burden of Egypt, that phraſe explained, i. 195.

Burnet (Biſhop) his account of Biſhop Lloyd's ſtudying the Revelation, iii. 19.

Burnet (Dr) his ſtrange notion of Gog and Magog, iii. 115.

C

CALVIN reputed wiſe for writing no comment upon the Revelation, iii. 18.

Canaan, the prophetical curſe upon him and his poſterity conſidered, i. 7. his curſe properly a curſe upon the Canaanites, 8. their wickedneſs very great, 9. the curſe includes the ſubjection of his deſcendents to thoſe of Shem and Japheth, 9. the completion of it from Joſhua's time to this day, 10, 190. a different reading propoſed about this prophecy, 12. his curſe purſued his poſterity to the utmoſt parts of the earth, 182.

Caroline books, by whom written, iii. 101. prove the worſhip of images to be contrary to ſcripture, 101.

Century *tenth*, wicked and ignorant, iii. 105. the principles and ſtate of the church in that period, 105—108. the *eleventh* much of the ſame complexion with the *tenth*, 108. the *ſixteenth* the age of reformation, 128.

Charlemain, contributes to the eſtabliſhment of the power of the Pope, i. 235. oppoſes the worſhip of images, iii. 163.

Chittim, the prophecy of the ſhips from that coaſt, i. 81. what to be underſtood by the land and ſhips of Chittim, 81—83.

Chriſt, ſome of his prophecies and of his apoſtles recorded, ii. 143. a ſummary of our Saviour's prophecies, 143. none more remarkable than thoſe about the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, which were publiſhed ſeveral years before that event, 144. our Saviour's tenderneſs in weeping over Jeruſalem, 145, denounceth perſecution to be the lot of his diſciples, 165. his name *the Word of God*, iii. 202. confirms the authority of the book of Revelation, 225. his ſecond coming one principal topic of that book, 216.

Chriſtians, greatly perſecuted, ii. 161. apoſtacy and other evils follow, 162. he who endures to the end ſhall be ſaved, 164.

Church, perſecuted by the great red dragon, iii. 134. repreſented as a mother bearing children to Chriſt, 134. in time brought ſuch as were promoted to the empire, 140. her flight afterwards into the wilderneſs, 141. barbarous nations excited to overwhelm her, but afterwards ſubmit to the Chriſtian church, 141. the ſtate of the true church in oppoſition to that of the beaſt, 191.

Chryſoſtome, his interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream i. 238. his deſcription of Antichriſt, iii. 253.

Clarke (Dr) his account of ſome extraordinary prophecies, iii. 256.

Claude, Biſhop of Turin, ſows the ſeeds of the reformation in his dioceſe in the ninth century, iii. 105.

Clergy, ſecond marriage at firſt forbidden them, ii. 283. afterwards reſtrained from marrying at all, 283.

Collins, his eleven objections againſt Daniel's prophecies, conſidered and refuted, ii. 17.

Conſtantine the great, the Chriſtian religion eſtabliſhed by him, iii. 56.

Conſtantinople beſieged in vain by the Saracens, iii. 73. beſieged by Mohammed the ſecond, 84. the city then taken, and an end put to the Grecian empire, 86.

Conſtitutions of Clarendon, iii. 111.

Creatures, to be received with thankſgiving, ii. 286. the ungrateful in this manner rebuked, 287.

Croiſades or expeditions of the weſtern Chriſtians to the holy land, ii. 205. how many periſhed in theſe expeditions, 207.

Cyrus, the conqueror of Babylon, foretold by Iſaiah, i. 154.

154. the ſtate of it under him, 160. united the kingdoms of Media and Perſia, ii. 28.

D

DANIEL, the genuineneſs of his prophecies vindicated, i. 220. his credit as a prophet eſtabliſhed by prophecies fulfilled at this time, 221. his interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, his firſt prophecy, 221. his viſion of the four firſt empires of the world, 243. the form of Nebuchadnezzar's great image how repreſented to Daniel, 243. his viſion of four beaſts, 244. what kingdoms they repreſent, 244, &c. what repreſented by the fourth beaſt with ten horns, 249. the opinions of ſeveral writers, 250. what meant by the little horn, 260. the opinion of ſome great men in this matter, 265. all thoſe kingdoms to be ſucceeded by that of the Meſſiah, 270. Daniel's viſion and Nebuchadnezzar's compared together, 272. their viſions extend to the conſummation of all things, 273. will caſt light upon ſubſequent prophecies, and theſe reflect light upon them again, 274. See Nebuchadnezzar.

Daniel, the languages in which his prophecies were written, ii. 18. his viſions, 18. that of a Ram and a Hegoat, 25. much concerned for the afflictions that were to befal the people of God, 60. the revelation made to him when advanced in years, 62. the prophecy about the Perſian empire and four of their kings, 63. that about a mighty king in Greece, 63. his prophecies about the king of the ſouth and the king of the north, 69. a concluſion from the exactneſs and particularity of the prophecy, 96. other parts of the prophecy, to whom applicable, 97. ſome parts agree better with Antichriſt than Antiochus, 98, 100. a part of his prophecies yet to be fulfilled, 126. ſome expreſſions of the laſt chapter to be applied to the reſurrections of the juſt and the unjuſt, 130. remarks on the time of the accompliſhment of Daniel's prophecies, 231. his prophecy amazing, and extended to many ages, 134. his prophecies reach beyond the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, iii. 98. ſome very particularly fulfilled, 96.

Daniel, his prophecies vindicated againſt eleven objections of unbelievers, ii. 18. the firſt relating to his age re-

futed, 16. the ſecond relating to the miſtake of the king's names and to Nebuchadnezzar's madneſs, 17. the third relating to Greek words, 18. the fourth about the verſion of the Seventy, 18. the fifth about clearneſs of his prophecies, 19. the ſixth from his being omitted in the book of Eccleſiaſticus, 20. the ſeventh relating to Jonathan's making no Targum on Daniel, 20. the eighth from the ſtile of his Chaldee, 21. the ninth from the forgeries of the Jews, 22. the tenth from his uncommon punctuality in fixing the times, 22. the eleventh about his ſetting forth facts imperfectly, and contrary to other hiſtories, 22. the external and internal evidence for the genuineneſs of his book,

Daubuz, one of the beſt interpreters of the Revelation, ii. 20. his hard fate in the world, 20.

David, ſome of Balaam's prophecies fulfilled by him, i. 74.

Dead, thoſe bleſſed who die in the Lord, ii. 166. what meant by being bleſſed from henceforth, 167.

Demons, the apoſtacy to conſiſt in worſhipping of demons, ii. 264. were ſuppoſed to be middle beings in the theology of the Gentiles, 265. two kinds of demons, 266.

Diocletian, the tenth perſecution begun by him, iii 55. more ſharp and bloody than any, 55. from thence a memorable æra to the Chriſtians, 55.

Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, his account of the ſuperiority of the Roman empire, i. 251.

Dragon the church perſecuted by the great red dragon, ii. 134. the heathen Roman empire repreſented by it, 135. his jealouſy of the church from the beginning, 136. the dragon depoſed perſecutes the church, 170. attempts to reſtore the pagan and ruin the Chriſtian religion, 170. takes another method of perſecuting the church, 172.

E

EBER, who meant by Eber, i. 83. and ſhall afflict Eber, the meaning of that prophecy, 83, 89.

Edomites, conquered by David, i. 40, 74. defeated by Judas Maccabeus, and obliged to embrace the Jewiſh religion

Tyrion, 41. the prophecies of their utter deſtruction fulfilled, 46.
Egypt, prophecies concerning it, i. 192—217. famous for its antiquity, 193. no leſs celebrated for its wiſdom, 194. the parent of ſuperſtition as well as the miſtreſs of learning, 195. had ſuch connections with the Jews that it is the ſubject of ſeveral prophecies, 195. the phraſe of the burden of Egypt explained, 195. its conqueſt by Nebuchadnezzar foretold by Jeremiah and Ezekiel, 196. how fulfilled, 197. its conqueſt by the Perſians foretold by Iſaiah, and how fulfilled, 199. and its conqueſt by Alexander, and the ſpreading of the true religion in the land, 203. how fulfilled, 204. the prophecy of Ezekiel, that it ſhould be a baſe tributary kingdom, 208. the truth of it ſhewn from that time to this, 209. its ſtate under the Babylonians, 209. under the Perſians, 209. under the Macedonians, 212. under the Romans, 213. under the Saracens with the burning of the Alexandrian library, 213. under the Mamalukes, 215. under the Turks, 216. reflections upon the character of the Egyptians, 217. a prophecy of its being ſubdued by the Othman emperor, ii. 125. a particular prophecy about it fulfilled, iii. 255.
Engliſh kings not willing to pay homage to the pope, iii. 109.
Epheſus, that church admoniſhed to repent, iii. 32. her candleſtick now removed, and the ſeven churches ruined, 32. the firſt epiſtle to the ſeven churches addreſſed to them, 33. its former magnificence, but preſent ruinous condition, 33. the denunciation againſt it ſtrikingly fulfilled, 34.
Ephraim, no more a people, i. 111. iii. 253. now comprehended under the name of Judah, 254.
Epiphanius, zealous againſt the worſhip of ſaints and images, iii. 271. an illuſtrative paſſage of his about the doctrine of demons, 272.
Euphrates, what meant by drying up that river, and by the kings of the eaſt, iii. 307. a prophecy of the Euphratean horſemen, 210.
Euſebius, his compariſon of Chriſt and Moſes, i. 91. the ſame enlarged by a modern author, 92.
Ezekiel, his prophecies concerning Tyre, i. 172. concerning Egypt, 193. Gog and Magog, ii. 129. iii. 215.

F

FLUENTIUS, biſhop of Florence, in the twelfth century preaches that Antichriſt was come, iii. 111.
Fornication, in ſcripture often put for idolatry, iii. 184. what meant by drinking the wine of her fornication, 184.
Franks or Latin Chriſtians march to the holy land, and take Jeruſalem, ii. 204.

G

GALLINEUS, thirty uſurpers in his reign, ii. 52. they come to miſerable ends, 52. ſword and famine in his reign, 52.
Gallus and Volluſian, peſtilence and diſeaſes in their reigns, iii. 53.
Gathering of the people, the different conſtructions of that prophecy, i. 56. the full completion of this prophecy, 57. this an invincible argument that Jeſus is the Meſſiah, 62.
Gauls and other nations, their families not diſtinguiſhed as thoſe of the Jews, i. 119.
Genſeric, king of the Vandals in Africa, takes and plunders Rome, iii. 67.
Gentiles, promiſes of their calling and obedience, i. 128. this effected by inconſiderable perſons and in a ſhort time, 129. what meant by their times being fulfilled, ii. 10.
Gog and Magog, in Ezekiel, the ſame as the Turks, iii. 133. the enemies of the Chriſtian church, iii. 215. who they ſhall be, not eaſily determined, 215.
Goat. See Ram and He-goat.
Godfrey of Boulogne, choſen king of Jeruſalem, ii. 205.
Goſpel publiſhed before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, ii 163. the propagation of it northward and ſouthward eaſtward and weſtward, 164. its ſudden and amazing progreſs, 165. at what time the four goſpels were written, 144. will finally prevail over all enemies and oppoſers, iii. 151.
Greek church, its miſerable condition among the Turks ii. 86. chaſtiſed by the Saracens, ruined by the Turks 87. not quite ſo corrupt as the Latin church, 237.

Greeks

Greeks and Romans, conquered the Canaanites, i. 10.
Gregory the great, what he ſaid about Antichriſt, ii. 255.
Gregory VII. denominated Hell-brand, ii. 279. forbids the marriage of the clergy, 281. their expoſtulations againſt this prohibition, 281.
Groſthead, or Greathead, Robert, biſhop of Lincoln, for his free ſentiments excommunicated by the pope, and appeals to the tribunal of Chriſt, iii. 19.
Grotius and Collins, their notion refuted i. 22.
Grotius cenſured, for his contracted explanation of the prophecies ii. 269. iii. 233. his explanation of the *Man of Sin* refuted, 233.

H

HAM, his bad behaviour towards his father, i. 6. the curſe upon him and his poſterity, 7.
Hammond, his hypotheſis of the *Man of Sin*, refuted, iii. 234.
Hanway, his account of the Arabians, i. 32.
Heathen, a ceremony among them to curſe their enemies, i. 55.
Heaven opened, and our Saviour cometh riding upon a white horſe iii. 332. a new heaven and a new earth ſucceed the firſt, 348.
Herodotus, relates that the Arabs were never reduced by the Perſians, i. 27. his account and others about the heighth of Babylon's wall, 161.
Homer and other ancients, their opinion of the ſoul being prophetic near death, i. 47. what gave riſe to that opinion, 48.
Horns, in prophetic language, kingdoms, i. 253. ii. 290.
Horſe, white, an account of that viſion, ii. 174. viſion of the red horſe, 176. of a black horſe, 144. of a pale horſe, 183.
Hoſea, his prophecy of the the Jews return in the latter days, iii. 104.
Huetius, his account of Tyre, i. 190.
Huns, Goths, and other Barbarians, invade the empire after the death of Theodoſius, ii. 194.
Huſs, John and Jerome of Prague, two faithful wineſſes, ii. 226. ſuffer death with fortitude, 254. their ſentence contrary to faith and engagement, 254, the opinions of their followers, 255.

JACOB and Esau, the prophecies concerning them, not verified in themselves, but in their posterity, i. 38. the family of Esau and Jacob two different nations, 39. the families of the elder subject to that of the younger, 40. in situation and other temporal advantages much alike, 41. the elder should delight in war, yet be subdued by the younger, 43. but afterwards should shake off the dominion of the younger, 44. the younger superior in spiritual gifts, 45. the happy instrument of conveying these spiritual blessings to all nations, 45. the posterity of Esau utterly destroyed according to the prophecies, 46.

Jacob, his prophecies concerning his sons, particularly Judah, i. 47—63. foretold his sons what should befal them in the latter days, 48. bequeaths the temporal inheritance to all his sons, 49. limits the descent of the blessed seed to Judah, 50. adopts the two sons of Joseph; Manasseh and Ephraim, 50.

Jason, made high-priest by Antiochus Epiphanes, i. 8. is deposed, and Menelaus is advanced in his room, 8. marches to Jerusalem, and exercises great cruelties on the citizens, 96.

Jeremiah, his prophecies concerning the preservation of the Jews, and destruction of their enemies, i. 118. concerning Babylon, 152. concerning Egypt, 196.

Jerome, vindicates the genuineness of Daniel's prophecies against Porphyry, i 220. interprets the fourth kingdom of the Romans, 232. his notion of this little horn, 259. what he says of Antichrist, ii. 311.

Jerusalem, the high priest meets Alexander going thither, ii. 34. the account rejected by some, but sufficiently vindicated by others, 35. the great objections to the credibility of this story answered, 35. our Saviour's prophecies relating to its destruction, iii. 144. the magnificence of the temple, 147. the prophecies exactly fulfilled by the utter destruction of the city and temple, 148, 154, 168. the phrases of the coming of Christ and the end of the world signify the destruction of Jerusalem, 151. the signs of his coming, and of its destruction, 152. the persecutions before its destruction, 160. the great distress and famine at the siege and after it, 168. a horrid

story

ſtory of a woman devouring her own child, 170. the calamities and miſeries without a parallel, 173. what to be underſtood by the days being ſhortened, 174. its deſtruction and the diſſolution of the Jewiſh polity, 190. the great numbers that periſhed during the ſiege, 194. the number of the captives, 195. never ſince in the poſſeſſion of the Jews, 697. firſt ſubject to the Romans, afterwards to others, 56. deſolation of it completed, 197. its condition under Adrian, 198. the attempt of Julian to rebuild it miraculouſly defeated, 206. ſtate of Jeruſalem, under the ſucceeding emperors, 201. taken and plundered by the Perſians, 201. ſurrendered to the Saracens, 202. paſſes from the Saracens to the Turks, then to the Franks, and afterwards to the Egyptians and others, 203. at preſent in the hands of the Turks of the Othman race, 207. prophecies of what was to follow upon its deſtruction, 211. ſome paſſages relating to its deſtruction in the goſpel explained, 211. particularly about the angels and even the Son not knowing the time, 213. its deſtruction typical of the end of the world, 214. the exact completion of theſe prophecies a ſtrong proof of revelation, 214. See Jews.

Jeruſalem, a deſcription of the new Jeruſalem, 351. a continuation of the deſcription, 353. the particulars confirmed by the angel, 354.

Jews and Arabs, reſemble each other, i. 35. the Jews, at preſent very numerous, 96. the xxviiith of Deuteronomy, a picture of their preſent ſtate, 96. a prophecy of their enemies coming from far, how fulfilled, 97. and of the cruelty of their enemies, how fulfilled, 98. the ſieges of their cities, 99. their diſtreſs and famine in the ſieges, 99. the women eating their own children, 100. their great calamities and ſlaughters, 102. their being carried into Egypt, and ſold for ſlaves at a low price, 102. their being pluck'd from off their own land, 103. their being diſperſed into all nations, 104. their ſtill ſubſiſting as a diſtinct people, 105. their finding no reſt, 105. their being oppreſſed and ſpoiled, 106. their children taken from them, 107. their madneſs and deſperation, 107. their ſerving other gods, 107. their becoming a proverb and bye-word, 108. the long continuance of their plagues, 109. the fulfillment of theſe ancient

ancient prophets very affecting and convincing, 110. prophecies relating to their present state, 110. and about the restoration of the two tribes, and the dissolution of the ten 110. the time of the restoration of the two tribes foretold 110. fulfilled at three periods, 111. the prophecy about the ten tribes, how fulfilled, 112. where they are at present, 114. vain conjectures of the Jews thereupon, 114. not all returned with the two tribes, 115. nor swallowed up among the heathen nations, 116. the reason of the distinction between the two tribes and the ten tribes, 117. the prophecy of the Jews wonderful preservation, and the destruction of their enemies, 118. their preservation one of the most illustrious acts of divine Providence, 118. providence no less signal in the destruction of their enemies, 119. and that not only of nations but of single persons, 120. the desolation of Judea another instance of the truth of divine prophecy, 121. foretold by the prophets, 121. the present state of Judea answerable to the prophecies, 122. no objection from hence of its being a land flowing with milk and honey, 122. the ancients, heathens as well as Jews, testify it to have been a good land, 122. an account of it by two modern travellers, 123. the prophecies of the infidelity and reprobation of the Jews, how fulfilled, 126. the prophecies concerning the Jews and Gentiles, have not had their entire completion, 130. what hath been accomplished a sufficient pledge of what is to come, 131. a dissuasive from the persecution of the Jews, and humanity and charity recommended, 132. prophecies relating to other nations in connection with the Jews, 133.

Jews, their calamities and miseries without a parallel, ii. 173. the cause of their heavy judgments, 219. some correspondence between their crime and their punishment, 219. on this occasion, a serious application made to Christians, 220. are successful in taking their city from the Romans, 218. are afterwards subdued with most terrible slaughter, 218. are sold like horses, 218. a standing monument of the truth of Christ's predictions, 197. their great sin and their punishment, 219. many prophecies of their conversion and restoration, iii. 250. See Jerusalem.

Impoſtors and falſe chriſts, at the ſiege of Jeruſalem, ii. 178. an argument of a true Chriſt, 182. the difference between thoſe deceivers and Jeſus Chriſt, 184. they were of debauched lives and vicious principles, 184. thoſe deluded by impoſtors a melancholy inſtance of the weakneſs of mankind, 185.

Infidelity, its patrons only pretenders to learning, ii. 267. modern, worſe than that of the Jews, 267.

Infidels, their objection that prophecies were written after the events groundleſs and abſurd, i. 3. muſt either renounce their ſenſes or admit the truth of revelation, 4.

Joachim, abbat of Calabria, in the twelfth century diſcourſes of Antichriſt, iii 112.

Jonah, preaches repentance to Nineveh, i. 140. the king and people repent at his preaching, 140. the moſt ancient of all prophets, 140. at what time he propheſied, 140.

Jorton (Dr), his compariſon of Moſes and Chriſt, i. 92. his remarks upon the prodigies preceding the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, ii. 159.

Joſephus, his account of the great ſlaughter at the ſiege of Jeruſalem, i. 102 his relation of the ſigns and prodigies before its deſtruction, ii. 157. wonderfully preſerved for the illuſtration of the completion of the prophecies, 217. the great uſe and advantage of his hiſtory in this reſpect, 218.

Ireneus, his notion of Antichriſt, i. 258. ii. 251. his explication of the number of the beaſt, 155.

Iſaac, more promiſes concerning his poſterity than of Iſhmael, i. 36. the promiſe of the bleſſed ſeed fulfilled in Iſaac's family, 36.

Iſaiah, his prophecy againſt the Aſſyrians, i. 136. againſt Babylon, 153. againſt Tyre, 172. againſt Egypt, 195.

Iſhmael his poſterity very numerous, i. 21. the promiſes about him, how fulfilled, 22.

Iſhmaelites. See Arabians.

Iſraelites, their poſſeſſion of Canaan according to the promiſe, i. 36.

Judah, Jacob's prophecies in bleſſing this tribe, i. 51. the ſcepter ſhall not depart from Judah, that prophecy explained, 53. its completion, 57. continued a tribe till the coming of the Meſſiah and the deſtruction of Jeruſalem,

ſalem, 57. became the general name of the whole nation, 60. this prophecy an invincible argument that Jeſus is the Meſſiah, 62.

Julian, his hypocriſy, ii. 200. his attempt to rebuild the temple miraculouſly defeated, ii. 201.

Jurieu (Peter), his notion of the reſurrection of the witneſſes, iii. 97.

Juſtin Martyr, his notion of the *Man of Sin*, ii. 251. his account of the millenium, iii. 209.

K

KENNICOT, his critical remark upon Noah's prophecy, i. 14.

Kingdom, the Babylonian, i. 224, 225. the Medo-Perſian, 226, 246. the Macedonian or Grecian, 227, 248. the four kingdoms into which this was divided, 248. the Roman, 230, 249. the ten kingdoms into which this was divided, 254.

L

LACTANTIUS, his notion of Antichriſt, ii 252. of the millennium, 209. and of the time ſucceeding, 219.

Laodice, wife of Ptolemy Philadelphus, put away, but afterwards recalled, ii. 69. poiſons her huſband, and cauſes Berenice to be murdered, 69. fixes her eldeſt ſon Seleucus Callinicus on the throne, 69. her wickedneſs did not paſs unpuniſhed, 73.

Laodicea, the terrible doom of that church, ii. 38. now an habitation for wild beaſts, 38. its condition a warning to all impenitent and careleſs ſinners, 39. its former ſplendid condition, 39.

Laſt times, what denoted thereby, ii. 277.

Lateinos, that word contains the number of the beaſt, iii. 55. how it agrees with the church of Rome, 55.

Latin church not reclaimed by the ruin of the Greek church, ii. 87.

Lawgiver from between his feet, that expreſſion explained, i. 52.

Le Clerk, an able commentator, but apt to indulge ſtrange fancies, i. 56. his ſingular interpretation of Jacob's prophecy rejected, 56. his hypotheſis of the *Man of Sin*, refuted, ii. 234.

Little book, the contents of it, iii. 89. describes the calamities of the western church, and their period, 89. the contents to be published, 90. what meant by the measuring of the temple, 91. some true witnesses against the corruptions of religion, 92.
Little horn, among the ten horns of the western Roman empire, i. 256. among the four horns of the Grecian empire, ii. 44. whether to be understood of Antiochus Epiphanes or of the Romans, 45. the reason of its appellation, 45.
Lloyd, Bishop, his account of the ten kingdoms into which the Roman empire was divided, i. 254. a memorable thing of his about the Revelation, iii. 29. his notion of the resurrection of the witnesses, 98.
Locusts, the Arabians compared to them, ii. 72. their commission, and how fulfilled, 72. not real, but figurative locusts, 74. likened unto horses, 74. a description of their heads, faces, and teeth, 74 like unto scorpions, 75. their king called the destroyer, 76 their hurting men five months, how to be understood, and how exactly fulfilled, 77.
Lollards, preach against the superstitions of the church of Rome, iii. 123. present a remonstrance to the parliament against the doctrines and practices of the church, 123.
Longinus, reduces Rome to a poor dukedom, iii. 70.
Loretto, the great riches of the image, house and treasury, iii. 184.
Luther, preaches against the pope's indulgences, iii. 128. that question answered, Where was your religion before Luther? 129. protests against the corruptions of the church of Rome, 166.

M

MACCABEES, their great success against the enemies of the Jews, ii. 108.
Macedonian empire, why compared to a leopard, i. 248. why described with four wings and four heads, and dominion given to it, 249. why likened to a goat, ii. 30.
Machiavel, his account of the ten kingdoms into which the Roman empire was divided, i. 254. points out the little horn, 264. shews how the power of the church of Rome was raised upon the ruins of the empire, 105.

Mahuzzim,

Mahuzzim, what it means, ii. 115. the prophecy expounded, 116.
Mamalucs, Jeruſalem longer under their dominion, ii. 206. all their dominions annexed to the Othman empire, 207.
Man of Sin, St Paul's prophecy about him, ii. 229. the ſenſe and meaning of the paſſage, 222. what meant by the coming of Chriſt and the Day of Chriſt, 223. who is the *Man of Sin*, 226. what by ſitting in the temple of God, 228. what by he who letteth will let, 227, 228. 255. the deſtruction of the *Man of Sin* foretold, 248. the opinions of ſome learned men rejected, 220. other opinions about the *Man of Sin*, 230. applicable to the great apoſtacy of the church of Rome, 234. the pope the *Man of Sin*, 239. what the fathers ſay of the *Man of Sin*, 269. the evidences that the pope is the *Man of Sin*, 250. the opinion of the ancient fathers about this point, 258. this prophecy an antidote to popery, 258.
Marriage, an account of its being forbid to the clergy, ii. 282. the worſhipping of demons and prohibition of marriage went together, 285.
Maundrell, his account of the ſtate of Paleſtine, i. 123. his account of Tyre, 191.
Maximine the emperor, a barbarian in all reſpects, iii. 151.
Mede, a moſt learned and excellent writer, i. 17. a miſtake of that author's corrected, 17. his account of the ten kingdoms into which the Roman empire was divided, 254. of the three kingdoms which the little horn ſubverted, 265. his great pains in explaining the prophecies, and fixing the true idea of Antichriſt, ii. 257. his excellent treatiſe of the apoſtacy of the latter times, 260. one of the beſt interpreters of the Revelation, ii. 20. his hard fate in the world, 257. iii 20. his conjectures concerning Gog and Magog, 215.
Meſſiah, principally intended in Moſes's prophecy of a prophet like unto himſelf, i. 87. expected about the time of our Saviour, ii. 182. and foretold that he ſhould work miracles, 183.
Mezeray, what the hiſtorian ſays of the Waldenſes, iii. 118.
Millennium commences, and Satan bound and ſhut up a thouſand years, 202. the prophecy not yet fulfilled, 208. this period thought to be the ſeventh millennary of the world, 210. quotations in proof of this, 210. the reaſons of

of this doctrine growing into diſrepute, 213. curioſity into the nature of this future kingdom to be avoided, 252.
Miracles and prophecies, the great proofs of revelation, i. 4. how to judge of miracles, ii. 45. what to think of the pagan and popiſh miracles, 46. thoſe of the church of Rome, not real but pretended, iii. 152. their pretended miracles a proof of a falſe church and a diſtinguiſhing mark of Antichriſt, 153. prophecies accompliſhed, the greateſt of all miracles, 269.
Mohammed, the time when his true religion was propagated, ii. 293. ſome contend that he was the *Man of Sin*, 239. that opinion refuted, 239. the ſtar that opens the bottomleſs pit, 71.
Monks, great promoters of celibacy and worſhipping of the dead, ii. 282.
Moſes, a faithful hiſtorian in recording the failings of the patriarchs, i. 5 [illegible] prophecy of a prophet like himſelf, 86. many proofs that the Meſſiah was principally intended in that prophecy, 86. the great likeneſs between Moſes and Chriſt, 90. the compariſon between them as drawn by one author and enlarged by another, 91. the puniſhment of the people for their diſobedience to this prophet, 95. the prophecies of Moſes concerning the Jews, 97. his prophecy of their diſperſion exactly fulfilled, iii. 260.

N

NAHUM, the time of his propheſying uncertain, i. 141. foretold the utter deſtruction of Nineveh, 141. his prophecies of the manner of its deſtruction exactly fulfilled, 145.
Nebuchadnezzar, his dream of the great empires, i. 220. the interpretation of it by Daniel with the occaſion of it, 221. the emblems of that dream conſidered and explained, 222.
Newton, Sir Iſaac, his account of the ten kingdoms into which the Roman empire was divided, i. 255. of the three kingdoms, which the little horn ſubverted, 266. penetrates into ſcripture as well as into nature, ii. 45. account of the little horn in the Grecian empire, 50. his the beſt interpretation of Daniel, xi. 45, 98. his obſervations about the interpreters of the Revelation, ii. 19.

Nineveh, prophecies concerning this metropolis of the Aſſyrian empire, i. 134—150. ancient and great city, 137. the ſcripture account of it confirmed by heathen authors, 138. abounding in wealth and luxury, became very corrupt, 140. the king and people repented at the preaching of Jonah, 140. their repentance of ſhort continuance, 141. their deſtruction foretold by Nahum, 142. this city taken and deſtroyed by the Medes and Babylonians, 142. the prophecies of the manner of its deſtruction exactly fulfilled, 145. its great compaſs, walls, and towers, 146. authors not agreed about its ſituation, 148. the predictions about it fulfilled, according to the accounts of ancients and moderns, 149. the ruins of this city may ſtrongly affect us in this kingdom, 150.

Noah, very few prophecies before his time, i. 5. his excellent character, 5. was notwithſtanding guilty of drunkenneſs, 5. the behaviour of his ſons at that time, 6. foretels the different conditions of their families, 6. his extraordinary prophecy wonderfully fulfilled to this day, 16.

O

ODOACER, king of the Heruli, puts an end to the very name of the weſtern Roman empire, iii. 70.

Omar, propagates Mohammed's religion, ii. 61. the many kingdoms he ſubdued, 61. inveſts Jeruſalem, and it ſurrenders, 62.

Onias, removed by Antiochus Epiphanes from the high prieſthood, i. 89.

Oldcaſtle, Sir John, proſecuted for being the principal patron of the Lollard's, iii. 124. examined before the archbiſhop of Canterbury, 124. his ſtrong declarations againſt tranſubſtantiation and other doctrines, 124. aſſerts the pope to be Antichriſt, 125. ſuffers death for the cauſe of religion, 125.

Origen, what that learned writer relates about Antichriſt, iii. 252.

Oſtrogoths, their kingdom in Italy, iii. 69.

Othmans, or Turks, ſubdue Egypt, i. 216, 125. take Jeruſalem, ii. 208. their ſultanies or kingdoms, iii. 80. their conqueſts, 82. the Jews to be reſtored about the time of the fall of this empire, 249. See Turks.

PARIS,

P

PARIS, the maſſacre of the Proteſtants there, iii. 97. the many thouſands ſlain in a few days, 97.

Paris, Matthew, that hiſtorian freely cenſures the great wickedneſs of the pope and clergy, iii. 120.

Paſchaſius Radbertus, in the ninth century firſt advances the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, iii. 103. oppoſed by many learned men, 103.

Pergamus, its ſituation and preſent ſtate, iii. 35. formerly the throne of Satan, and now in a wretched condition, 35.

Pella, the Chriſtians remove thither before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, ii. 169.

Perſecution, the ſpirit of popery, i. 132. the Jews greatly perſecuted in popiſh countries, 132. diſſuaſives from it, 132. the perſecutions of the Chriſtians before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, 19.

Perſian empire, why compared to a bear, i. 246. its great cruelty, 247. why likened to a ram, ii. 32.

Philadelphia, its beautiful ſituation, iii. 37. next to Smyrna hath the greateſt number of Chriſtians among the former ſeven churches, 167.

Pocoke (Dr), his account of the Arabians, i. 31. of Tyre, 189.

Pope of Rome, the marks of the *Man of Sin* juſtify the application of it to him, ii. 202. how his power was at firſt eſtabliſhed, 205, 254. the Reformers of opinion that the pope was Antichriſt, 255. he forbids to ſpeak of the coming of Antichriſt, 256. the evidences of the pope being Antichriſt, 256. the apoſtacy eſtabliſhed by the pope, 279. the pope the image and repreſentation of the beaſt, iii. 153. is firſt elected, and then worſhipped, 153. as great a tyrant in the Chriſtian world as the Roman emperors in the Heathen world, 154. popiſh excommunications, like Heathen perſecutions, 155.

Popery, prevails in the ninth century, iii. 152. the oppoſition it met with, 153. the great corruption of Chriſtianity, 233. many prophecies relating to the prevailing of popery, 229, 252. the predictions repreſented in one view, 230. its tyranny and idolatry foretold, 230. the blaſphemy of popery in the pope's making himſelf equal and even ſuperior to God, 231. the power and

riches of the popiſh clergy, 232. the pomp of their ceremonies and veſtments, 232. their policy, lies, and frauds, 232. their pretended viſions and miracles, 232. intimations of popery in the New Teſtament, 233. not only foretold, but the place and perſons pointed out, 235. inſtances of this, 235. the time alſo ſignified, 285. when to riſe and how long to prevail, 243. the tyrannical power often called Antichriſt, 246. the corruptions of popery being foretold, we are not to be ſurpriſed or offended, 253.

Porphyry and Collins deny the genuineneſs of Daniel's prophecies, which are ſufficiently vindicated, i. 220. their notions refuted, 220, 253.

Prophecy, a diſſertation on Noah's prophecy, i. 5—20. the prophecies concerning Iſhmael, 20—35. concerning Jacob and Eſau, 35—47. Jacob's prophecies concerning his ſons, particularly Judah, 47—63. Balaam's prophecies, 63—86. Moſes's prophecy of a prophet like unto himſelf, 86—95. prophecies of Moſes concerning the Jews, 96—110. prophecies of other prophets concerning the Jews, 110—134. the prophecies concerning Nineveh, 134—151. the prophecies concerning Babylon, 151—172. the prophecies concerning Tyre, 172—192. the prophecies concerning Egypt, 193—217. Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the great empires, 219—242. Daniel's viſion of the ſame, 243—274. Daniel's viſion of the Ram and He-goat, ii. 25—61. Daniel's prophecy of the things noted in the ſcripture of truth, 61—101. the ſame ſubject continued, 101—140.

Prophecy, a diſſertation on our Saviour's prophecies relating to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, ii. 142—167. the ſame ſubject continued, 167—190. the ſame ſubject continued, 190—210. the ſame ſubject continued, 210—221. St Paul's prophecy of the *Man of Sin*, 221—259. St Paul's prophecy of the apoſtacy of the latter times, 259—287. on the prophecies of the Revelation, Part III. 17—131. Part II. 131—228. Prophecies relating to popery recapitulated, 228—253.

Prophecies, one of the ſtrongeſt proofs of Revelation, i. 1. the conſequence from believing prophecies to believing revelation, 2. the prophecy of Noah not to be underſtood of

of particular perſons, but of whole nations, 7. the gift of it not always confined to pious men, 63. many prophecies have both a literal and myſtical meaning, 63.
Prophecies, why the Jewiſh church inſtructed by prophets, and not the Chriſtian, ii 15. ſome prophecies of Chriſt concerning himſelf and the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, 16. a view of the prophecies now fulfilling in the world, iii. 253. inſtances of prophecies fulfilled, atteſtations of divine revelation, 267.
Prophecies, the great difference between them and the pagan oracles, i. 264.
Providence, confirmed by the completion of prophecies, ii. 264. the many abſurdities of denying a providence, 265.
Ptolemy, the firſt of Egypt, a powerful king, ii. 69.
Ptolemy Philadelphus, the ſecond king of Egypt, ii. 70. called the dowry-giver, 71. his care of his daughter, 72.
Ptolemy Philometer, the great calamities of his reign, ii. 87. the Alexandrians revolt from him, and proclaim his brother king, 88.
Ptolemy Philopator, defeats Antiochus, ii. 74. murders his neareſt relations, 75. conſumes his days in feaſting and lewdneſs, 75. his vicious conduct and cruelty to the Jews, 76. dies of intemperance and debauchery, 76.
Pythius, the richeſt ſubject in the world, ii. 63. entertains Xerxes and offers to defray the charges of the war, 65.

R

RABANUS Maurus, in the ninth century, writes againſt tranſubſtantiation, ii. 274.
Ram and He-goat, a diſſertation on that viſion, ii. 85. why the Perſian empire is repreſented by a ram, 31. the exploits of the ram, 31. a goat properly a type of the Grecian empire, 34. the goat invades the ram with great ſucceſs, 35. the empire of the goat broken to pieces, 42. what aroſe after it, 43.
Reuben, Jacob's prophecy concerning that tribe, now fulfilled, i. 50.
Redemption, the firſt promiſe of that great bleſſing, i. 5. that promiſe may be called the firſt prophecy and opening of Chriſtianity, 5.
Reformation, the firſt efforts towards it by emperors and biſhops, iii. 162. another by the Waldenſes and Albigenſes,

113. a third by Luther and his fellow reformers, 166.
Reinerius, the Dominican, his remarkable character of the Waldenſes, 116.
Revelation, the prophecies a ſtrong proof of it, i. 1. the evidence drawn from prophecy, a growing evidence, 3. the objections made to the book of *Revelation* by ſome learned men, iii. 18. difficult to explain, yet not to be deſpiſed or neglected, 19. the right method of interpreting it, 20. what helps requiſite, 20. the three chief interpreters of this book, 20. the ſcope and deſign of it, given to St John at Patmos in Nero's reign, 21. his firſt viſion and deſcription of Jeſus Chriſt, 24. the dedication to the ſeven churches of Aſia, 24. its ſolemn preface to ſhew the great authority of the divine revealer, 24. the place, the time, and manner of the firſt viſion, 24. the ſeven epiſtles to the ſeven churches, 28. the viſion of the throne ſet in heaven, 40. of that of the book ſealed with ſeven ſeals, 43. that the Son of God was only found worthy to open the ſeals, 43. the viſions of the ſix ſeals conſidered, 44. the ſeventh ſeal opened, 62. it comprehends more events than the former ſeals, 63. the ſeven trumpets, 63. viſion of the great red dragon, 134. of the ten horned beaſt, 142. of the two horned beaſt, 150. the ſeven vials, 170. the fall of ſpiritual Babylon or Rome, 180. the millennium, 204. the general reſurrection and judgment, and new heaven and earth, 216.
Roman empire compared to a terrible beaſt without a name, i. 49. this beaſt had ten horns, 253. theſe ten horns or kingdoms were to be ſought, 254. the opinion of authors about them, 254.
Rome, that church a ſurpriſing myſtery of iniquity, iii. 17. its hereſies and ſchiſms of long continuance, 17. the power of the pope of Rome foretold in ſcripture, 18. when Rome was governed by the exarch of Ravenna, 70. reſembles Egypt in her puniſhment as well as in her crimes, 174. her fall compared to Babylon, 180. her ſtate and condition, 180. the character of the great whore of Babylon, more proper to modern than ancient Rome, 182. her ſitting upon a ſcarlet coloured beaſt with ſeven heads and ten horns, 182. her ornaments, 183. her enchanting cup, 184. her inſcription upon

upon her forehead, 184. her being drunk with the blood of the ſaints, 186. what ſignified by the ſeven heads and ten horns, 189. the prophecies relating to the church of Rome the moſt eſſential part of the Revelation, 229. its corruptions and innovations foretold, 229. her clergy like the Scribes and Phariſees in ſeveral inſtances, 235. their uſurped power foretold, and the place and perſons pointed out, 229, 235. the time of its power foretold, 242. its deſtruction will certainly come, 245.

S

SALADIN, proclaimed ſultain in Egypt, ii. 205. beſieges and takes Jeruſalem, 205 compels the Chriſtians there to redeem their lives, 205.

Saracens, deſcended from Iſhmael, i. 21, 29. as locuſts overſpread the earth, iii. 71. when they made their greateſt conqueſts, 79. See Arabians.

Sardis the capital of Lydia, iii. 37. at preſent in ruins, 37. in a deplorable ſtate as to religion, 37.

Savonarola, his zealous preaching and writing againſt the vices of the Roman clergy, iii. 126. endures impriſonment, tortures and death with conſtancy, 126.

Sawtre, a pariſh prieſt, firſt burnt for hereſy in England, iii. 124.

Scopas, his great ſucceſs in Cœle-Syria and Paleſtine, ii. 79. is afterwards forced to ſurrender to Antiochus, 80.

Scotus Johannes, writes upon the Euchariſt by the command of the emperor, iii. 203. his opinion againſt the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, 213. invited to England by king Alfred, and preferred, 213.

Scriptures the fulfilment of the prophecies a convincing argument of their divinity, i. 170. friendly to liberty, 172. and the love of our country, ii. 72.

Seals, the book ſealed with ſeven ſeals, iii. 43. the Son of God only found worthy to open it, 143. the ſeven ſeals ſignify ſo many periods of prophecy, 46. the firſt memorable for conqueſt, 49. the ſecond its commencement, and continuance, 49. the third ſeal for what characterized, 49. the fourth ſeal for what diſtinguiſhed, 50. the fifth ſeal remarkable for the tenth general perſecution, 55. the ſixth ſeal for great changes and revolutions, 55. its continuance from Con-

tine to Theodoſius, 62. the ſeventh ſeal diſtinguiſhed by the ſounding of the ſeven trumpets, 63. ſeals foretold the ſtate of the Roman empire before it became Chriſtian, 64.
Seleucidæ and Lagidæ, not the fourth kingdom mentioned in Daniel, i. 230, 253.
Seleucia renders Babylon deſolate, i. 165. is called Babylon by ſeveral authors, 166.
Seleucus, the firſt of Syria, a moſt potent king, ii. 69.
Seleucus Ceraunus, his ſhort and inglorious reign, iii. 65.
Seleucus Callinicus, his ſons and their pompous appellations, i. 72.
Seleucus Philopator, ſucceeds his father Antiochus, ii. 86. a raiſer of taxes all his days, 86. ſends his treaſurer to commit ſacrilege in the temple of Jeruſalem, 87. is deſtroyed by him, 88.
Septimius Severus, a juſt and provident emperor, iii. 49.
Shalmaneſer, carried the ten tribes into captivity, i. 135.
Shaw (Dr), his account of the Arabians, i. 29. of Paleſtine, 125. of Tyre, 190.
Shem and Japheth, their good behaviour on their father's drunkenneſs, i. 6. the bleſſings promiſed upon them and their poſterity, how fulfilled both in former and latter times, 15. iii. 270. the promiſes of Japheth's dwelling in the tents of Shem explained and fulfilled, i. 16.
Sherlock (Biſhop), his expoſition of Jacob's prophecy chiefly followed, i. 52.
Shiloh, ſhewn to be the Meſſiah in the various ſenſes of the word, i. 56.
Sidon an ancient city, celebrated by Homer and other poets, i. 175.
Simeon and Levi, Jacob's prophecy about theſe two tribes, and how fulfilled, i. 49.
Smyrna, the ſecond epiſtle to the ſeven churches addreſſed to them, iii. 34. its ſituation and commerce, 34. its preſent ſtate as to religion, 34.
Soul, that grew prophetic near death, an opinion of great antiquity, i. 47.
South and North, kings of, who to be underſtood by [illegible], i. 66, 119.
[illegible] of Jacob, and a ſceptre out of Iſrael, that prophecy explained, i. 72.

Spon

Spon (Dr), his remarks about the church of Philadelphia, iii. 37.
States or nations, ſeldom ruined without preceding ſigns, ii. 167, many awful ſigns from the ſins of this nation, 168.
Sulpicius Severus, his expoſition of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, i. 239.

T

TACITUS, his account of the prodigies before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, ii. 159.
Tamerlane, his great conqueſts, ii. 207. viſits Jeruſalem, 207.
Tertullian, his opinion of the Man of Sin, ii. 252. of the millennium, 213.
Theodoret, too much promotes the worſhip of ſaints. ii. 274.
Thuanus, his character of the Waldenſes, ii. 116. this account of their ſufferings and diſperſion, 117.
Thyatira, a Chriſtian church formerly there, this denied by ſome heretics, iii. 36. its preſent condition an effect of the divine judgments for their ſins, 36.
Titus, ſurrounds Jeruſalem with a wall, ii. 171. commands the city and temple to be deſtroyed, 196. his wonderful preſervation of the ſiege, 217.
Toledo, that council ordered the children of the Jews to be taken from them, i. 106.
Trajan and Severus, their attempts againſt Arabia repelled in an extraordinary manner, i. 29. the wars and ſlaughters in the reigns of Trajan and his ſucceſſors, iii. 46. the Jews ſubdued by him, 46.
Troſly, that council's good regulations, iii. 106. differs from the ſpirit and principles of the council of Trent, 106.
Trumpets, the ſeven periods diſtinguiſhed by the ſound of ſeven trumpets, iii. 63. ſilence of half an hour previous to their ſounding 63. foreſhew the condition of the Roman empire after it became Chriſtian, 63. the deſign of the trumpets, 64. the events at the ſounding of the firſt trumpet, 64. at the ſounding of the ſecond, 66. at the ſounding of the third, 68. at the ſounding of the fourth, 69. the three following

tinguished by the name of the woe-trumpets, 70 the events at the ſounding of the fifth, 71. at the ſounding of the ſixth trumpet, 80. an account of the ſeventh trumpet, 130.

Turks, a part of Daniel's prophecy ſuppoſed to refer to the deſtruction of their empire, ii 124 their four kingdoms on the river Euphrates, ii 80. their numerous armies, eſpecially their cavalry, 84. their delight in ſcarlet, blue, and yellow, 85. the uſe of great guns and gun-powder among them, 85 their power to do hurt by their tails, 86 See Othmans.

Tyre, prophecies concerning it, i 172—192. Its fall predicted by Iſaiah and Ezekiel, 172 the prophecies relate to both old and new Tyre, 172. a very ancient city, 173. the daughter of Sidon, but in time excelled the mother, 175. in a flouriſhing condition when the prophet foretels her deſtruction for her wickedneſs, 176. the particulars included in the prophecies about it, 177. the city taken and deſtroyed by Nebuchadnezzar and the Chaldeans, 178. the inhabitants to paſs over the Mediterranean but to find no reſt 179 the city to be reſtored after ſeventy years, 182. to be taken and deſtroyed again, 184. the people to forſake idolatry and become converts to the true religion, 186. the city at laſt to be totally deſtroyed and become a place for fiſhers to ſpread their nets upon, 188 theſe prophecies to be fulfilled by degrees, 189 a ſhort account from the time of Nebuchadnezzar to the preſent time, 189. the accounts given by three writers, 190. this account concluded with reflections upon trade, 192.

V

VIALS, ſeven, a preparatory viſion to their being poured out, iii. 172. theſe ſeven plagues or vials belong to the laſt trumpet, and not yet fulfilled, 172. ſeven angels appointed to pour out the ſeven vials, 173. the commiſſion to pour them out, 174. the firſt vial or plague, 174. the ſecond and third, 175. the fourth, 176. the fifth, 177. the ſixth, 177. the ſeventh and laſt, 179.

[illegible] his opinion about a paſſage in Balaam's prophecy, [illegible] excellent commentator upon Iſaiah, 186. [illegible] beſt interpreters of the Revelation, ii. 20.

Voltaire,

Voltaire, his account of the preſent ſtate of Paleſtine, i. 121. an agreeable yet a ſuperficial writer, ii. 19.

W

WALDENSES and Albigenſes witneſſes for the truth in the twelfth century, ii. 113. their riſe and opinions, 113. teſtimonies concerning them, 115. are very much perſecuted, and fly into other countries, 118. pronounce the church of Rome to be apocalyptic Babylon, 166.

Warburton, his expoſition of the ſtar out of Jacob, and ſcepter out of Iſrael, i. 76. his account of the figurative language uſed in fortelling the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, ii. 91.

Wetſtein, his explication of the *Man of Sin* refuted, ii. 237. complimented his underſtanding to Cardinal Quirini, 238.

Wheeler, his account of Smyrna, iii. 34. he eſteems an Engliſh prieſt an evangeliſt, 35. his obſervations about the judgments on the ſeven churches of Aſia, 39.

Whitby, his ſcheme about the *Man of Sin* perplexed and confuſed, ii. 234. and refuted, 234. promiſes not to underſtand the revelation, iii. 18.

White horſe, our Saviour coming forth riding on one, ii. 201. a token of victory over his enemies, 203.

White Throne, the general reſurrection and judgment repreſented by it, iii. 216.

Wickliff, preaches againſt the doctrines and lives of the clergy, iii. 122. his books read in the colleges at Oxford, 122. after his death his doctrines condemned, books burnt, and body dug up and burnt, 124. his followers however not diſcouraged, 124.

Witneſſes, proteſt againſt the corruptions of religion, iii. 92 why ſaid to be two witneſſes, 92. to prophecy in ſackcloth during the grand corruption, 93. the character of theſe witneſſes, and of the power and effects of their preaching, 93. their paſſion, death, reſurrection and aſcenſion, 94. the prophecy about the witneſſes applied by ſome to John Huſs and Jerome of Prague, 96. and by others to the proteſtants of the league of Smalcald, 97. alſo to the maſſacre of the Proteſtants in France, 97. others to later events, in the Proteſtants in the vallies of Piedmont, 98.

duction ſhewing the true witneſſes againſt the church of Rome from the ſeventh century to the Reformation, 99. witneſſes in the eighth century, 100. in the ninth, 202. in the tenth, 205, in the eleventh, 208. in the twelfth, 211. in the thirteenth, 218. in the fourteenth, 120. in the fifteenth, 122. in the ſixteenth, 128. hence an anſwer to the popiſh queſtion, Where was your religion before Luther? 129.

Woman, clothed with the ſun and the moon under her feet, iii. 134. what this repreſentation of the church denotes, 134.

Woman full of names of blaſphemy, ſitting on a beaſt, having ſeven heads and ten horns, iii. 180. the name written on her forehead, 180. the judgment of the great whore, 181. is arrayed in purple and ſcarlet colour, 183. hath a golden cup in her hand full of abominations, 184. the inſcription upon her forehead, 184. infamous for idolatry and cruelty, 185. the myſtery of the woman, 187.

World, what meant by the phraſe of the end of the world, ii. 151. its reference to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, 151.

X

XERXES, the richeſt king of Perſia, ii. 63. his memorable expedition into Greece, 64. raiſes the greateſt army that ever was brought into the field, 64.

Z

ZEBULUN, Jacob's prophecy, concerning that tribe, and how fulfilled, i. 50.

Zephaniah, that prophet foretels the total deſtruction of Nineveh, i. 146. the prophecy contrary to all probability, 146.

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